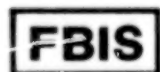


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26 October 1979

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2171



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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2171

CONTENTS	PAGE
NAMIBIA	
Record Number of Terrorists Reported Killed (THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, 28 Sep 79)	1
Debate Between Leaders of Two White Factions Planned (THE CITIZEN, 1 Oct 79)	2
Specialist Military Unit in Operational Area Described (PARATUS, Jul 79)	4
Farmers Reported Ordered Out for 'Secret Project' (WINDHOEK OBSERVER, 15 Sep 79)	7
SOUTH AFRICA	
Government Policies Under Fire From Rightwing (Various sources, 26 Sep, 2, 3 Oct 79)	9
By-election Meeting Incidents Labor Leader Nieuwoudt Comment, by Riaan de Villiers HNP Founder's Statement	
'POST' Praises Botha's 'Defiance' of Rightwingers (Editorial; POST, 20 Sep 79)	12
De Klerk Discounts Likelihood of Major NP Split (THE STAR, 3 Oct 79)	14
Early General Election Deemed Unlikely (Jaap Theron; THE CITIZEN, 8 Oct 79)	15
Preservation of Flag, Anthem Causes Debate (THE STAR, 26 Sep, 1 Oct 79)	16
Botha Assurance, by Hugh Leggatt Call for New Anthem	

Themes of Pride, Struggle Mark Kruger Day Speeches (THE CITIZEN, 11 Oct 79)	18
Botha on War, by Steve Moller Treurnicht on National Confidence	
Nationalists Underestimate U.S. Criticism of Progress (THE STAR, 2 Oct 79)	20
Koornhof Discusses Councils, Influx Control (RAND DAILY MAIL, 20, 28 Sep 79)	22
Community Council System Continued Influx Control	
Oppenheimer Voices 'Qualified Optimism' on Botha Policies (Patrick Laurence; RAND DAILY MAIL, 3 Oct 79)	24
Homelands Commission Report Proposes Bold Changes (Various sources, various dates)	25
Details of Proposals, by Patrick Laurence 'RAND DAILY MAIL' Comment, Editorial Matanzima on Transkei Policy Qwaqwa Purchase Offer, by Patrick Laurence	
Resettlement of N. Transvaal Tribal Group Underway (Various sources, 26 Sep, 4 Oct 79)	29
Details of Resettlement, by Mathatha Tsedu Denial of Coercion Charge	
Azapo Holds Inaugural Congress (Various sources, 1, 2 Oct 79)	32
Report of Session, by Joe Thloloe Biographies of Leaders Editorial Comment, Editorial	
Soweto Political Struggle Reflects Differing Tactics (Various sources, various dates)	36
Committee Vs. Inkatha Struggle, by Melanie Yap Thebehali Vs. Civic Association, by Ike Motsapi, Chris More	

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Motlana Rejection Constitutional Proposals	
Motlana Interview, Nthato Motlana Interview	
Colored Council Member's Comment	
'Constellation' Concept a 'Sin'	
Two Soweto Councils Granted Powers	
(Ike Motsapi; POST, 25 Sep 79)	45
Phatudi Calls for Dialog, Not Exclusive Organizations	
(Mathatha Tsedu; POST, 24 Sep 79)	47
Matanzima Reshuffles Transkei Cabinet	
(Marcus Ngani; POST, 26 Sep 79)	48
Reportage on Black Trade Union Developments	
(Various sources, various dates)	49
Explanation of New Law, by Siegfried Hannig	
Thloloe on Non-registerable Unions	
Tucsa Official's Comment	
List of Banned Unionists	
Black Survival Through Social Interdependence Studied	
(Patrick Laurence; RAND DAILY MAIL, 21 Sep 79)	53
Idea of White Servicemen in Black Schools Criticized	
(POST, 21 Sep, 3 Oct 79)	54
University Staff Response	
Soweto Educator's Comment, by Ike Motsapi	
Colored Council Criticizes Cadet Training Program	
(Norman West; SUNDAY TIMES, 30 Sep 79)	56
Botha Government Adopts New Economic Strategy	
(Various sources, 23, 27, 30 Sep 79)	57
Fleur de Villiers Article	
Economic Advisory Committee, by Helen Zille	
Private Sector Planning Role, by Donald Andrew	
Policy on Inflation, by Stephen Orpen	
African Bank Lacks Black Support	
(Penelope Morgan; SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES, 23 Sep 79)	63

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Bus Fare Issue Part of General Economic Problem (Editorial; RAND DAILY MAIL, 1 Oct 79)	65
Gold Mining Industry Seeks Tax Reduction (Andrew McNulty, Penelope Morgan; SUNDAY TIMES- BUSINESS TIMES, 30 Sep 79)	67
Briefs	
Research Project With Israel	69
West German Trade Union	69
Appeal to Portuguese Community	70
British Labor Support ANC	70
Applications for Inter-Racial Restaurants	70
Youth Political Role	71
Women's Petition on Taxes	71
Inkatha Officials Shooting Incident	71
Transkei Chief Awaiting Trial	72
Buthelezi on Military Service	72
Buthelezi Criticism of Students	72
Nusas Officer Arrest	73
Nusas Publication Ban Overruled	73
Black Transportation Improvements	73
Rhodesian Domestic Workers	73
Black Rhodesian Mineworkers	74
Japanese Locomotives	74
Fuel From Refuse Proposal	74
Foreign Assets Status	75

ZAIRE

Flour Distribution Scandal, Causes Discussed (Muyumba Kiyombo; MJUMBE: LE QUOTIDIEN DU SHABA, 28-29 Jul 79)	76
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RECORD NUMBER OF TERRORISTS REPORTED KILLED

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 28 Sep 79 p 1

[Text]

THE SECURITY forces killed a record number of 38 terrorists in the operational area last week, the Acting Commander SWA Command, Brigadier Willie Meyer, announced at a Press conference yesterday.

This is the highest number of terrorists killed by the security forces in contacts in one week. The successes of the security forces in the operational area can be attributed to the greater cooperation of the local population, Brigadier Meyer said. The security forces suffered no losses.

Troops in the area had reported that the spirit to resist the extreme methods of psychological and physical coercion of the terrorists was becoming more apparent among the local people.

"Information about the terrorist movements and their whereabouts are continually being received and contributing to the security forces' successes during operations," Brigadier Meyer said.

He denied that the higher death toll among the enemy indicated a higher infiltration into SWA. More cooperation from the people in the area and new techniques employed by the security forces were the main factors, he said.

The 38 terrorists were killed in nine contacts. Most of the contacts were initiated by the security forces on information they had received.

The latest of the contacts was on Wednesday when five terrorists died in two contacts. The highest number to be shot dead in a single contact was seven.

During the same week terrorists were also responsible for two terror attacks in Owambo.

On Thursday a week ago they attacked the kraal of Mr Nangola Simon in central Owambo and murdered him and two special constables.

At the weekend they attacked the kraal of Headman Johannes Kalomo, also in central Owambo. A thirteen-year-old boy was wounded and then burnt to death.

Three members of the Owambo special constabulary were killed while trying to rescue the youth.

DEBATE BETWEEN LEADERS OF TWO WHITE FACTIONS PLANNED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 1 Oct 79 p 3

[Text]

WINDHOEK. — Two bitterly opposed heavyweights in the SWA political arena, Mr Dirk Mudge and Mr Jannie de Wet, tackle each other tonight in what might turn out to be the showdown of the year.

They will both address a public meeting at Outjo, about 300 km northwest of Windhoek.

Mr Mudge is the leader of the Republican Party and chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), and Mr De Wet, former commissioner-general of the northern Black territories, is a rising star in the SWA National Party Executive.

The Republican Party and the SWA National Party became implacable political opponents two years ago when the White population of SWA was politically torn apart by a split in the SWA National Party.

Disaffected

Dissatisfied with NP policy, Mr Mudge had walked out of a SWA NP congress in 1977, taking his followers with him.

Since the split, the two White factions have fought each other tooth and nail, causing a vendetta that has permeated the entire social structure of the Whites in the territory.

Firm friends were turned into bitter enemies and families were split in two because of politics.

The feud today is reverberating through the territory's churches, and schools, commerce and industry and the public service. The South African Government has also been dragged in.

For two years now, the leaders of the two White factions have bitterly attacked one another separately on public platforms.

Hundreds of supporters of each party are expected to throng the meeting to encourage their leader and call his opponent.

Tonight's confrontation follows a challenge to Mr De Wet, issued by Mr Mudge from a public platform. Last week Mr De Wet accepted the challenge at a public meeting.

Political observers say the confrontation might prove to be the grandfather of White political clashes in SWA, widening the rift between the White factions.

Others say it might be the first glimmering of a more tolerant attitude.

Hostility

It would certainly take more than one public meeting to rid the Whites of the intense hostility built up and nurtured over the past two years.

The debate will certainly satisfy all but the most insatiable appetites for political meetings. It will last at least three and a half hours.

After tentative probing and final agreement — almost like two sides in a title-fight — it was decided that the meeting would start at 8 pm with Mr Mudge getting the opportunity to strike the first blow with a one-hour speech.

Mr De Wet will immediately follow with a one-hour speech. Each speaker will then be allowed 15 minutes to reply to each other.

Immediately afterwards, an hour will be allowed for questions from the audience.

The meeting was officially organised by the NP and Republican party. DTA supporters will be treated as "guests".

The man with the most difficult task will be Mr Wilhelm de Wet, the chairman on whom both parties have agreed.

Mr De Wet and Mr Mudge have a great deal in common. They were firm personal friends, they are neighbours and are both from the Outjo/Otiwarongo area.

Charisma

Both men have immense personal charisma and both have the ability to talk a hostile, jeering audience into silent submission.

Mr Mudge said yesterday he was planning "some straight talking".

He thought the electorate had been misinformed by NP and Aktur leaders. He was

going to present the audience with the facts, he said.

"I am going to talk about relevant affairs of today, but I will not appeal to the emotions of the audience."

He expressed the hope that "something good" would come from the meeting.

Half-truths

Mr De Wet said from his farm at Otjiwarongo he had been accused of spreading half-truths and wanted to set the record straight.

He also wanted to sketch the role the party wished to play in the independence process in SWA.

CS0: 4420

SPECIALIST MILITARY UNIT IN OPERATIONAL AREA DESCRIBED

Pretoria PARATUS in English Jul 79 p 6

[Text] The nature of the low-intensity bush war being fought in the Operational Area, as well as the tactics employed by the enemy infiltrators, have to a large extent contributed to the birth of the South West Africa Specialist Unit, based in northern South West Africa.

This unit is a specialized follow-up group, the fundamental concept behind its existence being the integration of the specific qualities and characteristics of infantrymen mounted on horses and motorcycles, as well as the utilization of trained trackers and dogs.

Prior to July 1977, these elements existed in the South African Defense Force, but they were trained and deployed on a separate basis. In July 1977, however, some of the most experienced infantrymen in the SADF were given the task of combining all the specialized elements into one integrated unit. Since January 1978, it has become known as South West Africa Specialist Unit.

The enemy's tactics are to strike or intimidate and then swiftly retreat back across the border, thus evading retribution from the security forces. The terrorists travel with a minimum of equipment, relying on their knowledge of the environment to supply them with food and shelter. Conventional infantry patrols often have difficulty in apprehending fleeing terrorists as they, the insurgents, are able to move rapidly, not being impeded by heavy equipment.

Speed

The greatest advantage of the Specialist Unit is that the horses and motorcycles enable its members to move with great speed, in spite of heavy loads, and to maintain the speed over extended distances.

Speed and maneuverability are key concepts in any warfare and in these areas, SWA Specialist Unit has brought more punch to the security forces, and as integral follow-up unit they have already acquired a reputation second to none.

Example: In a recent follow-up operation a fairly old track was picked up by the trackers early one morning. A mounted section followed it at maximum speed with such success that at nightfall the track was fresh enough to be handed over to the tracker-dogs.

In pitch darkness, the dogs followed the spoor over a long distance and early the next morning contact was made with the enemy. In the ensuing clash, one terrorist was killed while the rest took to their heels. The security forces managed to capture a large amount of enemy equipment.

An added advantage of the mounted section is their psychological effect on the enemy. A group of mounted infantrymen, thundering across the plains, has an incredible effect on foot-soldiers. According to an officer at SWA Specialist Unit, it often happens that when making contact with a unit of mounted SA infantry, the terrorists abandon their weapons and flee panic-stricken into the bush.

In another incident, the mounted element, together with the trackers, was following the spoor of a large group of insurgents who were hot-footing it for the safety of the border.

Attack

After following them for a considerable time, the tracker halted the patrol at the edge of a large pan. He indicated a group of five terrorists who were occupied with laying anti-personnel mines in the middle of a foot-path.

The leader of the mounted patrol decided to attack and gave the order. The moment the enemy saw the shooting soldiers, thundering across the pan in a cloud of dust, they dropped their weapons and fled to the opposite side of the pan, into the "safety" of the sparse vegetation.

A skirmish ensued which finally resulted in the killing of two terrorists, the wounding of at least one other and finally the mounted unit was able to chase the infiltrators back across the cut-line.

The OC of the mounted section at SWA Specialist Unit told PARATUS that the mounted element had often been able to acquire an advantage over the enemy by means of surprise. "The horses are not shod in sandy areas and are thus relatively silent. It is not uncommon for the horses to approach groups of fleeing terrorists from the rear and engage them in battle, without the enemy being aware of the infantry until the first shot is fired," he said.

He added that the mounted infantryman held the advantage in a contact for the simple reason that he occupied a higher position than the foot-soldier and could thus see better. The mounted infantryman was, therefore, able to dictate the course of the battle from the start.

"It is also a truism that if a soldier knows his horse well, the animal is able to convey vital messages to its rider. When the enemy is in the immediate vicinity, the horses become nervous and highly strung," he said.

Excited

On one occasion, a mounted patrol had set up a temporary base with the horses picketed in the center. During the night they became excited and peered intently in one direction. Early that morning the base was attacked--the enemy emerging from that quarter indicated by the horses... with our forces on the alert.

The tracking element of SWA Specialist Unit consists of infantrymen who have been thoroughly trained to follow and interpret all manner of spoor, and dogs which are trained trackers and explosives detectors.

A considerable breakthrough was achieved recently when the unit mastered the art of tracking from horse-back as well as from motorcycles. This is a further enhancement of the unit's follow-up capabilities and it is now possible to attain speeds hitherto impossible using conventional patrolling methods.

An additional element was introduced to SWA Specialist Unit in 1977, namely specially adapted high-speed motorcycles, operated by trained infantrymen.

The motorcycle element is employed along similar lines to the mounted wing and it does the same work as conventional infantry. The cycle squads are, however, extremely effective in their specialist operations by virtue of the speed they are able to maintain, the distances they are able to cover, the terrain they are able to traverse, their maneuverability and their psychological effect on the enemy.

The motorcycles are specially fitted so that they have the added advantage of surprisingly silent operation. The manner of deployment ensures that the cyclists form difficult targets. During operations, the motorcycles are well spaced over a large area and, terrain permitting, they always move at the fastest speed possible.

CSO: 4420

FARMERS REPORTED ORDERED OUT FOR 'SECRET PROJECT'

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 15 Sep 79 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts]

OKAHANDJA: Three farmers have been ordered by Pretoria to vacate their properties by December 31, 1979, so as to make way for a new, highly secret project. Thus, the hills east of Okahandja will be treated to new sounds and will become out of bounds for the general public, with tragic consequences for the richness in wildlife of that area, the home of hundreds of gemsbok and oryx with a game reserve nearby.

The Observer obtained full particulars of the project but our fear of the acid container at the printing press prevents us from informing the public about something which we believe should be brought to their notice.

GEOGRAPHICAL HUB

Millions of Rand are to be invested, new roads to be constructed, and the area selected is situated in the geographic hub of South West Africa, near ample water resources, electricity supplies and highways.

Late on Thursday night and just before departing for a visit abroad, the Observer's chief reporter had to meet with a delegation of the South African Government to be briefed on the project and for a decision as to whether the nature of it could be divulged.

The total area bought by the State comprises 20 000 hectares, the biggest share being that prime property and probably one of the ten oldest farms in South West Africa, known as Swakophöhe. Its real native name is Oserikare which means "the place where the maidens play".

Oserikare is known as Swakophöhe and Gränelde. In the homestead, a magnificent building occupied by two former German barons in the previous century, a sad and dejected Mr

Charles Niehaus, 71, has started to pack his personal effects.

Of the 20 000 hectares of land purchased by Pretoria, 14 000 belong to Mr Charles Niehaus, whose son, Mr J.P. Niehaus junior, took over most of the farming activities nine years ago.

The curtaining has been removed and cartons and other containers stand in the passages full of antique pieces. Mr Niehaus senior made no secret of his extreme unhappiness.

Another property which has to be vacated by midnight December 1, is that of Mr Archie Nel, formerly the Member for Okavandja in the Legislative Assembly. Mr Nel though, struck it rich. His property of 1160 hectares and close to the Municipal land of Okavandja was bought by the State at a price of R36 000,00 which means he is being paid R275 per hectare.

The third last property comprises an approximate 6000 hectares of land but it is not known what price was offered.

FOOTNOTE: If Thursday night's press briefing with the Pretoria delegation is successful, we will either publish the nature of the new project in today's edition, and if it is too late, at least in next week's edition.

[No further reference to this project was given in the 15 September issue.]

CSO: 4420

GOVERNMENT POLICIES UNDER FIRE FROM RIGHTWING

By-election Meeting Incidents

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 2 Oct 79 pp 1, 3

[Text]

Two National Party by-election meetings in the Transvaal last night became chaos as the Ministers addressing them were jeered and accused by angry miners and HNP supporters of selling out the whites.

At one, police with riot batons arrested five rowdies when fighting broke out.

There were walk-outs at both meetings.

The meetings were at Rustenburg — where there is a straight fight tomorrow between the Nationalists and the Herstigte Nasionale Party — and at Prinshtof, Pretoria, a long-time NP stronghold.

At Prinshtof, the Transvaal Nationalist leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, saw half his audience of about 200 walk out on him.

When about 100 young people left, carrying the old Transvaal vierkleur and shouting "Jaap Marais," they nearly came to blows with others in the audience.

The arrests at Rustenburg came after fighting flared briefly between right-wing miners and Nationalists.

HNP supporters and miners had turned out in force to boo, jeer and taunt the Minister of Manpower Utilisation, Mr S P Botha, for "selling out" white workers.

The miners' vote could be decisive in the by-election.

Explosive

For an hour, the situation in the Rustenburg Town Hall was explosive, with the threat of violence always in the air.

The Ministers appearance was received with shouts of "sies." Arguments and scuffles took place all over the hall.

The chairman stood speechless, powerless against the noise.

An attempt to restore order by opening the meeting with Scripture reading and prayer failed as loud comments were aimed at the dominee.

The Minister was called "Oom Fanie Buthelesi," "Oom Fanie Oppenheimer" and was accused of taking work from whites and giving it to blacks.

An ugly situation was prevented from developing when the president of the Mineworkers' Union, Mr Cor de Jager, got on to a Press table and persuaded the troublemakers to quieten down.

There was deafening applause when he proposed a vote of no-confidence in the Minister and led a walk-out.

There was brief fighting when Nationalists moved to get Mr de Jager down from the table. Police intervened swiftly, and stood guard outside with batons for the rest of the meeting.

Later, Mr Botha attacked the general secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, Mr Arrie Paulus, for his remark about blacks being baboons.

He said the insult had put the clock back in the Government's efforts to defend the country from its enemies, and the damage would take months to heal.

Labor Leader Nieuwoudt Comment

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 26 Sep 79 p 2

[Article by Riaan de Villiers]

[Text]

MR ATTIE Nieuwoudt, president of the South African Confederation of Labour, yesterday accused the Government of giving in to pressure from within South Africa as well as from overseas.

He was among several Rightwing white unionists who sharply criticised the Government's move to extend formal union rights to black migrants and commuters.

In a statement, Mr Nieuwoudt warned that organised white labour would keep a

close watch on the situation "as we are not prepared to perpetually give in to pressure by people who do not always have South Africa's interests at heart".

He added that the confederation was "deeply concerned" about the influence overseas bodies could exert on South African trade unions through financial support.

"I appeal to the Minister of Manpower Utilisation to investigate the whole issue of the inflow of funds with an eye to control in the future," he said.

Mr Arrie Paulus, secretary

of the Mineworkers' Union, said the Minister of Manpower Utilisation was "slowly poisoning" white unions.

"I said earlier that the new labour dispensation was the biggest act of treason ever committed against white workers. The treason is increasing day by day," he said.

He predicted that the next concession would be to allow the formation of mixed unions.

"So it will continue until, as I have always predicted, we will have full integration on the labour front."

HNP Founder's Statement

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Oct 79 p 3

[Text]

DR ALBERT Hertzog, founder of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, says the remarkable growth of the party is the turning point for the Nationalist Government which can expect a major backlash against its new "Prog policy".

"Afrikaners must not expect that a new true Nationalist Government will come to power immediately. It will be a gradual growth.

"It is just around the corner. All parties who think like the HNP will show a tremendous growth. A person should not see it as a backlash against the Nationalists.

"It isn't their fault that their party had adopted the policies of the Progs, but instead the blame lies squarely at the feet of their new leader, P.W. Botha." Dr Hertzog said yesterday.

"I think the feelings of the

people are crystallising against this new Prog policy of the so-called Nationalist Party who have thrown away all the policies of Dr Verwoerd which safeguarded the future of every white in this country.

"I have seldom heard anything good being said by Afrikaners about P.W. All these policy changes to appease certain people marks a sad day for South Africa," Dr Hertzog said.

He refused to comment on the position of Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Transvaal Nationalist Party, saying: "I would rather not criticise somebody who is thinking in the right way."

Dr Hertzog said that if he had to vote in any of today's by-elections, he would never vote for the Nats.

"To vote Nat is like voting for the Progs. Their new policy is Prog and I don't vote Prog."

CSO: 4420

'POST' PRAISES BOTHA'S 'DEFLIANCE' OF RIGHTWINGERS

Johannesburg POST in English 20 Sep 79 p 6

[Editorial: "Mr Botha's New Line"]

[Text]

NOT even his most violent critics could have failed to take notice of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, at the Nationalist Party's Transvaal congress this week.

He was forthright, challenging and has certainly introduced a new dimension in South African politics. Only time can tell if his almost breathtaking defiance of his party's rightwingers can be channelled into seeking out new political dispensations for the country.

Mr Botha's performance was a far cry from the pathetic performances of his predecessor, Mr John Vorster. That Mr Vorster had a stronger electoral following was in no doubt.

We rather suspect that when future historians write about Mr Vorster's role, it will be a damning indictment of a very strong man who emerged the weakest Prime Minister in the history of the country. He refused to lead South Africa. He was terrified of being responsible for dividing the Afrikaner nation. He opted instead to maintain an irrelevant party unity at the expense of South Africa.

Mr Botha, on the other hand, has given clear notice that he intends to see South Africa's interest taking precedence over everything else. He has clearly spelled it out to the rightwingers that they either conform to his style or get out of that party.

Whilst it is still early to start practicing for the Hallelujah Chorus, it is a development worth taking note of. It may be that the man they called Piet Wapen may yet deliver South Africa's white nation from destroying itself through greed and the desire to maintain privilege at the expense of our people's dignity.

He has certainly shown to have the guts to see it through.

CSO: 4425

DE KLERK DISCOUNTS LIKELIHOOD OF MAJOR NP SPLIT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Oct 79 p 3

[Text]

The likelihood of a major split in the National Party would diminish, although minor splinter breakaways would occur, Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler wrote today.

Writing a column in his newspaper, he predicted that:

● Rumours of discord, splits, "anti-P W protest" and white reaction against the NP direction, would become weaker. By-elections reflected something of a temporary itch when a scab must be scratched off, but this was not a major illness of the people.

● Splinter movements would occur, because there would be people who would vote against

the NP of 1980 and 1981. But the bulk of Afrikaners would remain intact.

● History would show that Afrikanerdom chose its path in 1978, overcame its temptations, and survived its crisis.

"As with every new beginning, there is doubt, weighing up pros and cons, guilt feelings over vague past beliefs, and leaping back when things get too hot," he wrote. But the knot had in fact already been tied, he added.

Dr de Klerk warned against double talk, dishonesty and seeking the applause of the moment "and other pleasures of ambitious, immature people, which can wreck us."

EARLY GENERAL ELECTION DEEMED UNLIKELY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Oct 79 p 3

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

A GENERAL election is possible but unlikely until the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has united the Transvaal Nationalist behind him, according to informed circles.

It is general knowledge that Mr Botha has the undivided support of the Nat office bearers and supporters in the Cape Province, the Free State and in Natal.

The recent by-elections have proved that the Transvaal Nats are to a large extent still in doubt about the new Prime Minister's policy directions.

The Prime Minister has warned Nat MPs on several occasions that they must put Nat policy clearly to their supporters if they did not want problems in their constituencies.

After the recent disastrous by-elections in Rustenburg, Prinsdal, Germiston, Brentwood, Koedoespoort and Johannesburg West, the Prime Minister clearly indicated that he will continue to pursue policies the way he sees them.

The new voters' roles which are being compiled only close on December 23. It will become effective as from January 23 1980, but the constituencies will have time until February 23 to complete additional registrations to the new role.

This means that a general election on the new voters' roles could only take place sometime in April next year. Therefore the Prime Minister needs time before he can safely call a general election — and time is on his side according to informed Nat circles.

Some of the time will be used effectively to convince many Transvaal Nats that Mr Botha's policies are the only policies that will be able to withstand the current total Marxist onslaught on South and Southern Africa.

Time is also needed to

swing the strong protest vote in favour of the NP.

The price of gold is high and South Africa's balance of payments is soaring, but this has to go through to the man in the street yet.

It is expected that the Government will first further improve the financial position of the man in the street — Black, Coloured and White — before a general election is called.

An informed source indicated yesterday that an economic bonanza, following in the wake of the top gold price and especially because of the splendid GST (Sales Tax) turnover could come the way of the public in the near future.

PRESERVATION OF FLAG, ANTHEM CAUSES DEBATE

Botha Assurance

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Sep 79 p 5

[Article by Hugh Leggatt]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has given an assurance that South Africa's existing flag, national anthem and name will be retained in spite of constitutional change.

He did not believe there was any significant pressure to change these institutions, he told the Cape National Party congress.

Replying to discussions of a resolution requesting no change of flag, anthem or name, he said "Die Stem" had gained acceptance far beyond the bounds of Afrikanerdom.

The flag portrayed South Africa's history and thousands had died under it. One would have to be careful about changing it and there would have to be a great deal of unanimity about it.

Call for New Anthem

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Oct 79 p 4

[Text]

Witwatersrand social workers have called for a new national flag and anthem representative of all race groups.

A memorandum claiming that the present South African flag and national anthem "ignore the multi-racial composition of the population" has been sent to the Commission of Enquiry into the Constitution.

It has been sent by the Society for Social Workers (Witwatersrand).

MEMORANDUM

An introduction to the memorandum states that the society is a professional association without a political policy.

It does, however, "recognise the importance of South Africa's constitutional development in determining future social relations between individuals of different races."

"It is also concerned that such development should not lead to the social or material isolation of certain groups, as this will cause suspicion."

COMPOSITION

The recommendation regarding the national flag maintains that the suggested flag (the present South African flag) "recognises the origin of the main white groups, but ignores the multiracial composition of the population."

On the issue of the national anthem the suggestion is that: "many South Africans do not accept 'Die Stem' as the

national anthem as it is not relevant to their cultural background."

REPLACED

The proposal is made that the anthem be replaced by an anthem "representing all," or that provision must be made for additional anthems representing other groups."

The memorandum also asks for the deletion of a paragraph relating to separate development — "that Black nations of the Republic should each be given separate freedom in the land allotted to them for the exercise of the political aspirations of all members of those nations."

CSO: 4420

THEMES OF PRIDE, STRUGGLE MARK KRUGER DAY SPEECHES

Botha on War

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Oct 79 p 3

[Article by Steve Moller]

[Text]

PAARL. — While many people feared the outbreak of World War 3 they failed to realise that South Africa had, for at least two decades, been involved in a war on a visible, as well as an invisible, front, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha said yesterday.

Mr Botha told more than 4 000 people in the amphitheatre of the Afrikaanse Taalmonument in Paarl that

the people of South Africa would have to realise that if a war situation were reached, with bombs dropping and guns firing, the chances of survival would be much less.

"Our aim should be to avoid such conditions instead of waiting for them."

"I must ask whether we realise that our country has, for at least two decades, been involved in a war on a visible, as well as an invisible, front."

Mr Botha said that the Afrikaner perhaps needed more inspiration now than ever before.

There was a feeling that the Afrikaner had reached the crossroads — but motivated struggle was the mother of life.

"We must do whatever we do in a spirit of love and with a song in our hearts," Mr Botha said.

Sketching the role of the Afrikaner, he said the fact that they call themselves Afrikaners and that their language was called Afrikaans was proof of their identity with Africa.

"We do not have to make any apologies. We may have made mistakes but we are prepared to admit these mistakes," Mr Botha said.

Treurnicht on National Confidence

Johannesburg: THE CITIZEN in English 11 Oct 79 p 3

[Text]

UITENHAGE. — Afrikaners should not give in to liberal thoughts and ideas which did not belong within the Afrikaner nation, Dr Andries Treurnicht, Minister of Public Works, said in Uitenhage yesterday.

He told a Kruger Day festival that the nation was in danger of being overcome by pessimism, propagated by people who were scared to stand up for their own identity.

Dr Treurnicht said people should not listen to those "who preach a general humanity and brotherhood and tell you to forget your own identity because it says in the Bible we are all created by God".

There should be no concessions on cardinal principles, only the preparedness to apply them.

The way to overcome the country was to say the Afrikaner nation had already played its part in history, or to say their vision was too narrow and should be broadened, or to say integration should be forced on the people.

To overcome a people you had to bring them to believe it was only a matter of time before they went under, to believe Marxism and communism would eventually take over in Africa and Southern Africa and to intimidate them to be scared of isolation.

"You must condition them for capitulation, condition them to be 'hen-slayers'," Dr Treurnicht told the crowd.

People should not be given a "death wish" as they had already been given in

Britain and America because then they merely looked for a quiet corner in which to die instead of struggling.

"We do not need an emergency exit for our people. This nation is grounded and rooted in the soil of South Africa.

"We don't have a boat in the harbour waiting to take us away nor do we see ourselves as part of a sinking ship.

"The White man in South Africa, the Afrikaner in South Africa, the English-speaker in South Africa, their home is here, they have no other home. The Brown man and all nine or so of the Black nations in South Africa do not have an exit. We will live here and we will die here."

NATIONALISTS UNDERESTIMATE U.S. CRITICISM OF PROGRESS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 2 Oct 79 p 20

[Text]

There is a striking contrast between the earnest conviction with which National Party supporters talk of Prime Minister Mr P W Botha's vision of a constellation of states in southern Africa, and the deep-rooted scepticism with which the idea has been greeted by many in the United States.

Americans tend to dismiss the Prime Minister's proposal as merely the latest in the National Party's compendium of fantasies and say that it is analogous to the Soviet Union joining the European Economic Community or Nato.

They concede that a supply and demand relationship already binds the countries of the region, but many question whether the present South African Government — even under the comparatively enlightened leadership of Mr Botha — would be an acceptable partner in much beyond this.

Nationalists gravely underestimate the antipathy they have evoked throughout the world, writes HUGH ROBERTON, recently returned to South Africa from the United States, where he was editor of The Star's Washington Bureau.

Nationalists argue that in the next few years South Africa will be so transformed that the country would be welcomed into the envisaged constellation.

They claim that Americans are so used to plotting disastrous scenarios for South Africa's future that they are unable to assess new ideas.

And with a rather facile glossing over of a few inconvenient contradictions, they point to Israel's fledgling new relationship with a fierce former enemy and ask whether anyone could have predicted such a rapprochement only 18 months ago.

Maybe the Nationalists have a point. But perhaps the Americans do as well.

It's not that American detractors of the South African Government do not warmly applaud the reforms being introduced by Mr Botha. They certainly do.

But they are convinced that most Nationalists are breathtakingly naive about the true extent of the country's problems abroad, especially in Africa.

And they firmly believe that the present Government, despite its apparent verligtheid, does not fully grasp the extent of the aspirations of the black people it rules.

Certainly it seems that Nationalists gravely underestimate the antipathy they have evoked throughout the world and, to Americans, they seem

to have childlike notions of what is needed to dissipate it.

What many thoughtful Americans fear, is that the momentum of feeling against South Africa is close to being irreversible in many parts of Africa and that international opinion is now too entrenched to be changed by policy adjustments.

They insist, too, that the expectations of blacks inside South Africa will inevitably far outstrip the limits to which the present government would be prepared to go.

The National Party, they tell one frankly, has an inherent and probably incurable weakness which, sooner or later, will prevent it from rising to the occasion.

Perhaps, as Nationalists claim, Mr Botha will yet pull it off. If he does, even his harshest critics in the US would sing his praises. By and large, they are not the ideologically motivated antagonists which so many West Europeans seem to be.

But, meanwhile, they remain deeply cynical about the constellation of states, despite the euphoria which Mr Botha's vision has given rise to at home.

CSO: 4420

KOORNHOF DISCUSSES COUNCILS, INFLUX CONTROL

Community Council System

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 28 Sep 79 p 3

[Text]

THE Government was fully committed to developing the community council system into one of local government of the highest standing and integrity, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said yesterday.

Speaking at the inauguration of the Tembisa Community Council near Kempton Park, he said that by the end of this month 175 councils would have been instituted throughout the country.

"I have indicated on several occasions in the past that if the Community Councils Act needs to be amended to serve the purpose of giving the black people in urban residential areas the opportunity of administering their own affairs properly, I will amend it.

"I have accordingly decided that the Act is to be revised to bring it in line with typical local government legislation."

Dr Koornhof said the Government had also appointed a Cabinet committee to investigate the position of blacks in white areas. The committee, which had already begun its task, would be advised by six regional committees.

Some of the matters which the committee would attend to were:

- Infrastructure and township development;
- The rights of local authorities in black urban areas;
- Education;
- Economic opportunities for blacks in urban areas;
- Transport;
- Mobility of labour between areas;
- Political aspirations of blacks within their national context;
- Mutual relations between blacks and whites;
- Sport and recreation;
- Blacks in white rural areas.

"It will be premature to comment on the final development of these developments, but my views are positive and I believe that it will ultimately contribute towards the bettering of the standard of living of all the people in black townships in South Africa."

Dr Koornhof said this could not be achieved overnight and would at all times take place within the framework of the law and according to the abilities of the blacks concerned.

"Where we are fully committed to the concept of local government for the blacks in the urban residential areas, we must understand that a process of evolution applies even here and that one should be on one's guard not to extend beyond the scope of one's ability and means.

"If one extends one's abilities regarding, for example, staff expertise, finance or equipment, or if one allows a situation to develop whereby effective control over these matters cannot be exercised, one could very easily fall into a bottomless pit of ineffective administration of a community's affairs."

The Minister said there were opportunities in Tembisa for Government, private sector, council and community and individual involvement. — Sapa.

Continued Influx Control

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 20 Sep 79 p 2

[Text]

THE Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said in Pretoria yesterday that the Government fully associated itself with the view that there had to be one or another form of control over the movement of workers to the urban areas.

Addressing the Transvaal National Party Congress on the Riekert Commission's report, Dr Koornhof said the commission's report in regard to this matter was not sufficient to deal effectively with the influx of blacks from the black states.

"The Government, therefore, accepts control at both the work and the home, but does not associate itself with the 72-hour time limit.

"It prefers to retain the existing third leg of the influx control mechanism."

The Government's standpoint was that, should the stricter application of the first two legs (places of work and home) appear to be efficient, emphasis on the 72-hour time restriction could gradually be removed.

"This could even result in the 72-hour time restriction being repealed," Dr Koornhof said.

Referring to businesses in urban black residential areas and free trade areas in group areas for blacks, coloureds and Indians, he said the Government was in favour of the creation of free trade areas there and had in principle accepted it in order to ensure a balanced participation by all the population groups in the economy.

Dr Koornhof said the implementation of the recommendations of the Riekert and Wiehahn reports would contribute to a higher economic growth rate since the black labour component, which comprised about 70% of the total labour force, could be better utilised.

This better utilisation of black labour did not imply that the position of the white worker would be affected.

"Economic growth and freedom in which all the inhabitants of the Republic can share is one of the most powerful deterrents against Marxist ideology, because no right-thinking inhabitant in South Africa will exchange prosperity and freedom for poverty and suppression."

In order to be able to make better use of black labour as speedily as possible, the legislative framework must be reviewed to keep pace with the demands and developments of the times.

"It will therefore be extremely unwise on the part of the Government of the Republic to cling slavishly to laws which have fallen into disuse and which could harm the process of economic growth," Dr Koornhof said.

OPPENHEIMER VOICES 'QUALIFIED OPTIMISM' ON BOTHA POLICIES

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Oct 79 p 3

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

THE PRIME Minister's use of the phrase "constellation of states" might be the prelude to "wise and far-reaching action", the chairman of Anglo-American, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said yesterday.

Describing his attitude to the present political situation as one of "qualified optimism", Mr Oppenheimer said: "I am prepared to believe that it is for this purpose that the Government has promoted the glowing phrase 'a constellation of states'."

Mr Oppenheimer, a known backer of the Opposition Progressive Federal Party, is one of the 150 businessmen invited by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to a conference next month on the proposed constellation of states.

He made his comments in a speech at a special graduation ceremony to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the University of Cape Town. A copy of his speech was released in Johannesburg.

Mr Oppenheimer referred to Mr Botha's expressed desire to bring about rapid change to avert the danger of revolution, and said it had changed the "whole nature of the political struggle within our parliamentary system".

He added: "Up till now, Government and Opposition have been fighting about ultimate ends. From now they will, I hope, be disputing the best means of reaching an end about which there is a measure of agreement on both sides."

But that did not mean that there would be no political debate; merely that beneath party political differences there would be a degree of unity on fundamental issues.

Mr Oppenheimer went on to list essential features of the proposed constellation if it were to be a meaningful political association. They included:

- Mutual agreement on, and free acceptance of the laws governing it by the participating states.

- A more authoritative body than a secretariat to determine and implement the constellation's common policy.

- A Southern Africa free trade area, embracing a common currency and free movement of goods, money and people across boundaries.

- Protection by the constellation of the interests of citizens of all member states, which implies that they should be citizens of both the constellation itself and of the particular member state.

Mr Oppenheimer then turned

to what he termed the "most intractable problem of all" — accommodation of South Africa's urban blacks.

"... If the Government is determined to press homeland citizenship on the urban black population — something which I personally would not advocate — it should surely be in addition to, not as an alternative to, the South African citizenship they now hold.

"This is not to deny that urban blacks have distinctive cultural and ethnic identities.

"But it is to deny that these identities have to be held at the cost of their South Africa heritage — and in drawing up the rules governing the constellation full weight should be given to the numbers, the resources, the potential and the aspirations of the black urban population within our borders."

HOMELANDS COMMISSION REPORT PROPOSES BOLD CHANGES

Details of Proposals

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 24 Sep 79 p 1

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

THE VAN der Walt Commission is virtually certain to recommend that at least part of the disputed territory of Griqualand East be given to Transkei in a move to consolidate Transkei and repair the breach between Pretoria and Umtata.

Cession of part of Griqualand East to Transkei is integral to a plan under discussion by the Van der Walt Commission to both consolidate South Africa's black homelands more effectively and to draw neighbouring black states into the proposed constellation of southern African states.

The plan embraces several bold ideas, including:

- Establishment of East London as a "joint venture" port to be shared by South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei (some observers believe Ciskei is likely to become the next independent homeland).

- Installation of Richards Bay as another joint venture port, with South Africa,

ca, KwaZulu and Swaziland as the partners.

- Enlargement of the tiny Basotho homeland of QwaQwa as a possible prelude to its incorporation into the neighbouring Kingdom of Lesotho.

East Griqualand separates the two main blocks of Transkeian territory. Its cession from the Cape to Natal last year was the immediate cause of Transkei's decision to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa.

The Transkei Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, has said Transkei's decision on whether to restore diplomatic ties with South Africa will depend on the outcome of the East Griqualand dispute.

The idea of East London evolving into a jointly-run port was put forward last month by Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of Ciskei, when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, visited Ciskei on his tour of the homelands.

Last week the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, expressed astonishment at a reported offer by South Africa to give a section of northern KwaZulu known as Ingwavuma to Swaziland.

Inquiries yesterday pointed to the reported offer being part of a wider deal being mooted by South Africa.

The rationale of the deal would be for Swaziland to receive part of Ingwavuma and Maputaland in KwaZulu to provide the Swazi Kingdom with access to the sea. In return KwaZulu would receive compensatory land elsewhere.

A source close to the Van der Walt Commission said yesterday: "I think you are on the right track."

Another well-placed source had earlier drawn attention to the de facto "joint venture" between South Africa and Mozambique in the running of Maputo harbour.

It is an open secret that

South African expertise helps keep the harbour going.

The Van der Walt Commission's preliminary report has recommended consolidation of BophuthaTswana into a single block. Its recommendation is based on the assumption that BophuthaTswana will surrender the tiny enclave of Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State.

On the question of incorporation of Thaba 'Nchu into QwaQwa, one of the sources said: "The commission has something quite different in mind for QwaQwa."

The Qwaqwa Chief Minister, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, has publicly declared that his eventual aim is some form of unification with Lesotho. But he has stipulated that he would first have to get more land for QwaQwa to make unification more attractive to both parties.

The Van der Walt Commission may provide him with the land he seeks. It may involve a land swap, in which the Transkei-held Maluti-region will go to QwaQwa in return for cession of part of Griqualand East to Transkei.

● GERALD REILLY reports that the Van der Walt Commission has estimated the overall cost of homeland consolidation will be R3 000-million — including compensation to landowners.

'RAND DAILY MAIL' Comment

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 25 Sep 79 p 14

[Editorial: "Redrawing the Map of South Africa"]

[Text] The Van Der Walt Commission is obviously thinking in bold terms about redrawing the Bantustan boundaries--and it is becoming apparent that its recommendations are going to form the main feature of Mr P W Botha's "total strategy" for countering revolution.

Latest reports indicate that all kinds of ideas that were taboo before are now being seriously considered: such as giving part of Griqualand East to the Transkei; turning a substantial section of the Western Transvaal into a single unit Bophutha Tswana; and making both East London and Richards Bay into "joint venture" ports which South Africa would share with the adjacent Bantustans.

Most radical of all is the idea of trying to lure at least two of the BLS countries into the Southern African "constellation" with offers they could scarcely refuse: Swaziland by offering it a corridor to the sea and a stake in Richards Bay; Lesotho by offering it the incorporation of an enlarged QwaQwa.

It looks like a massive programme, both in terms of cost and physical upheaval. There are whispers of a preliminary costing of R3,000-million, but if it is really to be on the scale suggested it will probably run to a good deal more than that. And obviously a lot of land hitherto regarded as "white" is going to be involved. Mr Botha has made it clear he is prepared to go beyond the 1936 Land Act allocation but he hasn't said by how much. When one considers that half of that total allocation has already been used up on Transkei and Bophutha Tswana alone, one begins to get some idea of what is involved.

The object of the exercise, obviously, is to give the Bantustans a greater degree of credibility as independent states, and their leadership more political legitimacy. With more land and resources in their possession, the Bantustan leaders will have more patronage to dispense and so they will be able to enlarge their support. Thus Mr Botha hopes to win more blacks to his side as a safeguard against revolution.

It is a bold, even an imaginative, strategy concept. Its one obvious weakness is that by this means the Government is still failing to address itself to the main pressure point in our society--the urban blacks, who constitute the unenfranchised working class of modern, industrialized South Africa. That is where the real revolutionary threat lies.

Matanzima on Transkei Policy

Johannesburg POST in English 26 Sep 79 p 9

[Text]

THE expectations that Transkei would restore diplomatic relations with South Africa if it received part of Griqualand East, were premature, the Prime Minister Chief George Matanzima, said in Umtata yesterday.

He was commenting on newspaper reports that this could follow a possible decision by the Van Der Walt Commission and its Transkei counterpart to transfer land in Transkei's Maluti region to the QwaQwa homeland in return for part of East Griqualand.

Chief Matanzima said Transkei would never relinquish any of its land in exchange for more land elsewhere.

"These people are mixing up consolidation with restoration. That land is our right, and we are not prepared to accept any exchange of land," he said.

He reiterated earlier statements that reconciliation depended on how much land South Africa was prepared to give Transkei. Discussions between the two land commissions within a month would centre on the in-

corporation of East Griqualand into Transkei, as well as the Elliot-Maclear area.

Chief Matanzima said he knew nothing about a proposal that the East London harbour be shared by South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei. The matter was not part of the terms of reference of his government's commission.

The news of a likely incorporation of Matatiele and the surrounding farms into Transkei met with a mixed reaction in the Transkei capital this week.

Qwaqwa Purchase Offer

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Sep 79 p 4

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

QWAQWA has offered to buy Sotho-speaking regions from Transkei during talks between the two governments, the Commissioner-General to the South Sotho Peoples, Mr J S Pansegrouw, disclosed yesterday.

The initial offer was made for the Transkei region of Herschel, but Maluti, a second Sotho-speaking region which also adjoins the Kingdom of Lesotho, was another potential item on the bargaining agenda.

Qwaqwa alternatively proposed a land swap which would have brought Herschel to Qwaqwa and given Transkei compensatory land elsewhere.

Both offers were, however, declined by the then Transkei Prime Minister, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who had previously resorted to emergency measures to contain Sotho secessionist movements in these regions.

Herschel used to belong to Ciskei, but was ceded to Transkei under an agreement struck by South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei before Transkei became independent in October 1976.

Mr Pansegrouw's disclosure of the offer came in the wake of a report that the Van der Walt Commission was considering ways of enlarging Qwaqwa as a possible prelude to unification between Qwaqwa and the neighbouring Kingdom of Lesotho.

Qwaqwa is the smallest of the black homelands and had neither the money nor the land with which to bargain with Transkei. Its offer must therefore have been made with South Africa's blessing, with the implicit promise of funds or land from South Africa with which to strike a bargain.

As the Rand Daily Mail has reported, one of the ideas under consideration by the Van der Walt Commission is for Transkei to be given part of Griqualand East, which has been the object of dispute between South Africa and Transkei.

The possible cession of part of Griqualand East to Transkei may be linked to a trade-off under which either Maluti or Herschel, or both, will go to Qwaqwa.

The Sotho-speaking regions of Transkei have long been a potential source of unrest. Sotho leaders favouring secession from Transkei to Qwaqwa have been detained by Transkei Police and some have fled to Qwaqwa.

At the time of Transkei independence in 1976, there were more South Sotho in Transkei than Qwaqwa, 90 500 against 89 500. There were another 30 000 in BophuthaTswana, most of whom lived in Thaba 'Nchu.

Qwaqwa had not given up hope of acquiring Thaba 'Nchu, a tiny black enclave under BophuthaTswana control in the Free State, Mr Pansegrouw said.

It has a mixed Tswana and Sotho population.

Situated east of Bloemfontein, Thaba 'Nchu is isolated from the rest of BophuthaTswana and has been excluded from BophuthaTswana under the Van der Walt Commission's proposals to consolidate BophuthaTswana.

The idea of surrendering Thaba 'Nchu is certain to bring heartache to the BophuthaTswana President, Chief Lucas Mangope, as it has been in the hands of the Tswana-speaking Barolong tribe for 180 years.

Nearly 70 000 Basotho are reported to live in the area today, many of whom have been resettled there since a tripartite agreement in 1977 between BophuthaTswana, Qwaqwa and South Africa.

RESETTLEMENT OF N. TRANSVAAL TRIBAL GROUP UNDERWAY

Details of Resettlement

Johannesburg POST in English 26 Sep 79 p 6

[Article by Mathatha Tsedu]

[Text]

PART of the 614 families of the Makgatho group, in the Northern Transvaal, left the Botlokwa area yesterday for Kromhoek, near Vivo, for resettlement as part of the Government scheme to remove "black spots" and consolidate the homelands.

The operation, expected to last four weeks, involves the uprooting of over 3 000 people, who were first resettled in the area in 1962.

Kromhoek is situated near Indemank, another resettlement area where over 1 200 families from the Senthumole area near Louis Trichardt were dumped in tents in June this year. The area has no river and water from bore-holes which is pumped into uncovered reservoirs is used.

One of Chief Solomon Makgatho's councillors, Mr Salselo Makgatho, said in an interview with POST yesterday that his people had agreed to move because their present land had been temporary and added that the new area is bigger.

"In 1962, when we came here, the government said this was a temporary place until they can buy a permanent land. Now they have bought it and we are moving. This is our last removal. Our present land is 2 000 hectares, whilst at Kromhoek we shall have 11 000 hectares. So we shall have more land for ploughing and grazing. The lack of running rivers is no problem because we shall have enough water to irrigate our land," he said.

Whilst the community had a clinic, a shop and three schools, the new area has no clinic and the nearest shop is 19 kilometres away. Students will be accommodated in temporary makeshift schools.

TRANSPORT COSTS

Mr Makgatho said the chief commissioner for the Northern Transvaal Mr J J Pieterse had promised the people "adequate compensation" but had not explained how the costs would be calculated.

Hardest hit by the removals will be the workers who commute daily between Botlokwa and Pietersburg which is 67 kilometres away. The new area is about 150 kilometres from Pietersburg and this will mean additional transport costs. Most of the younger workers are expected to move into hostels in Seshego and thereby increase the number of migrant workers.

Mr Makgatho said "We believe it is better to pay more while having a good and permanent home than pay less in a temporary place," he said.

One villager, Mr Philemon Makgatho (30) a bus and taxi operator, said he felt "bad about the whole thing because I don't know how much they are going to give me for my money," pointing to his R10 000 house that was nearing completion.

Meanwhile, as the trucks and buses roared through the dusty Machaka's village street, villagers stood in silence wondering whether they were next in the line. They, together with the Ramokgopa clan, who together, comprise an estimated 80 000 people, have resolutely rejected the government's intention of driving them to Viba.

They are presently awaiting Dr Piet Koornhof's reply to their plea not to be moved.

Denial of Coercion Charge

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Oct 79 p 3

[Text] The Deputy Minister of Development, Mr Greyling Wentzel, yesterday challenged claims that the Makgato tribe in the Northern Transvaal was being resettled against its will in an arid and inhospitable area.

Mr Wentzel said that only a few families were resisting the removal and that they were acting against their tribal authority "in an undemocratic manner."

He was reacting to a Rand Daily Mail report that hundreds of families of the Makgato tribe at Dwaarsrivier, near Soekmekaar, fled from their village earlier this week when police moved in to resettle them.

According to the report, villagers were refusing to join their chief, Chief Solomon Mathipa Makgato, who had already been peacefully moved with about 40 families to Kromhoek, about 100km northwest of Pietersburg.

Five families were forcibly removed on Monday after police with dogs moved into the village.

When police later returned to the village, the remaining 475 families fled into nearby villages and the bush.

The report said only a small section of the tribe supported their chief's decision to move from their area.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Wentzel did not challenge statements in the report that 475 families had fled and that police had been called in to forcibly remove tribesman.

He said only a few families were resisting removal.

He rejected suggestions that the tribe was being resettled in an "arid, inhospitable area."

"On the contrary," he said, "the area in which the tribe is being resettled offers the people more opportunity than they had in the area from which they are being removed.

"This is particularly true in respect of schooling, supply of water and rural resettlement of farmers."

Mr Wentzel said the people would also find it easier to "link up with their national state" in their new area.

Mr Wentzel said removals had only taken place after full consultation and negotiation with the tribal authority.

CSO: 4420

AZAPO HOLDS INAUGURAL CONGRESS

Report of Session

Johannesburg POST in English 1 Oct 79 p 1

[Article by Joe Thloloe]

[Text]

MR CURTIS NKONDO, leader of the teacher walk-out from schools in 1977, was yesterday elected first president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Azapo's inaugural congress adopted a black consciousness constitution and policy.

The congress was held over two days at St Angers Conference Centre, Roodepoort.

More than 200 people from the northern Transvaal, eastern Cape, western Cape, Natal, Free State, southern Transvaal and the northern Cape attended.

In his acceptance speech, Mr Nkondo (51) said there would be no negotiation with "the oppressor at any level."

He said: "It is very easy to take one's handbags and go to Pretoria to negotiate with a Dr Koornhof, especially if the people are paying. But we have chosen an uncomfortable, painful way because it is the only one."

"We want to be completely liberated".

The aims and objectives of Azapo are given as:

- To conscientise, politicise and mobilise black workers through the philosophy of black consciousness to strive for their legitimate rights
- To work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively towards the needs of Azanians.
- To promote an interpretation of religion as a liberatory philo-

sophy relevant to the black struggle.

- To promote and encourage research into various problems affecting the people.

- To expose the oppressive exploitative system in which the black people are denied basic human rights.

- To work towards the unity of the oppressed, for the just distribution of wealth and power to all people of Azania.

The birth of Azapo comes 17 months after a convention at St Angers decided that the organisation be formed. But a week later members of the interim committee were detained.

The chairman, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, and treasurer, Mr Lybon Mahasa, are still banned under the Internal Security Act and could not attend the inaugural congress.

The birth of Azapo comes nearly two years after the original black consciousness organisations like SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC) were banned on October 19, 1977.

Biographies of Leaders

Johannesburg POST in English 1 Oct 79 p 3

[Text]

FOUR OF the five people elected to the leadership of Azapo have been through detention without trial at one time or another.

The president, Mr Curtis Nkondo (51), chairman of the Teachers Action Committee, was first detained on October 19, 1977 and held under Section Ten of the Internal Security Act until July 7, 1978.

Two days later he was again detained, this time under Section Six of the Terrorism Act. He was held for two and a half months.

Mr Nkondo taught at various high schools in Soweto for 24 years until he led a walkout by teachers who were protesting at Bantu Education.

He is a father of four one of them a journalism student at Rhodes University.

He is now teaching English at a company in Johannesburg.

Mrs Nombulelo Melane (25), the vice-president, is a housewife, studying for her BA with the University of South Africa.

She started her degree at Fort Hare and later went to Ngoye.

Mrs Melane was detained for 13 months and appeared in the Ngoye Terrorism Trial in 1977. She was acquitted.

Married last year, she now has one child.

WAUCHOPE

Mr George Wauchope (29), the publicity secretary, is in the personnel department at the University of the Witwatersrand.

A former SASO member, he was expelled from the University of Fort Hare in 1972 when black campuses went aflame after Abram Tiro had condemned Bantu Education at a graduation ceremony at Turfloop.

In 1976 he was detained for 279 days under Section Six. On October 19, 1977, he was again detained under Section Ten. He was released on July 13 last year.

Mr Wauchope is secretary of the Soweto Committee of Ten.

Mr Letsatsi Mosala, the national organiser, is also 29. He completed his teaching training in Lesotho in 1972, but he has never taught. He is now a salesman for a pharmaceutical firm.

He was detained shortly after the Soweto Action Committee's convention that led to the birth of Azapo. He was detained for five weeks under Section Six.

This was his second spell under Section Six. He was detained for two months in 1976.

The general secretary, Mr Sammy Thoubalia (28), is the only member of the executive who has not been inside police cells.

He was refused re-admission to the University of the North in 1976 when he was due to complete his law degree.

He is now a bookkeeper for the Lutheran Church.

Editorial Comment

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 2 Oct 79 p 12

[Editorial: "The Acid Test of Real Change"]

[Text]

WHILE white South Africa has had all its attention fixed on Mr P W Botha and his promises of change, two events have taken place in the black community recently that will provide the litmus test of just how meaningful that change is going to be.

Weekend before last, the first public conference of nearly 1 000 people associated with the Committee of Ten was held in Soweto. The meeting launched a new movement, the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), with representatives from all of Soweto's 33 districts and with the Committee of Ten as its executive.

Last weekend more than 100 delegates from all parts of the country gathered in Soweto for the first congress of the 16-month-old Azanian People's Organisation. They approved a constitution and elected Mr Curtis Nkondo, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, as Azapo's first president.

What does the formation of these two organisations mean?

Simply this: that black politics is back in business again after repeated Government attempts to control it. Both the SCA and Azapo are political parties committed to the principles of the black consciousness movement, the one at the local level of Soweto politics and the other at the national level.

The crucial question now is to what extent the Government is going to be prepared to allow black politics to broaden out and become fully representative of the black political spectrum.

Hitherto Government strategy has been to keep black politics confined within the separate development system. Only those leaders and movements that were prepared to operate within the parameters of homeland politics and the community council system have been tolerated. Detentions and banning orders have been used to crush any political manifestation outside those limits.

The question now is whether the Botha Government, in its reformist spirit, is going to let this change. There are many things about these new black parties which the Government obviously won't like. There are some things we frankly don't like the sound of either, such as Mr Nkondo's declaration that Azapo will never negotiate "at any level at any time".

But there can be no doubting that these parties represent deep and authentic black political viewpoints, and they should therefore be allowed legitimate expression.

The test of real change in this country will be when the white Government stops trying to lay down for the black man what his politics may be and which leaders he may have.

CSO: 4420

SOWETO POLITICAL STRUGGLE REFLECTS DIFFERING TACTICS

Committee Vs. Inkatha Struggle

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 Sep 79 p 10

[Article by Melanie Yap]

[Text]

THE massive membership drive launched this weekend by Soweto's Committee of Ten heralds the growth of a new political force to rival Inkatha, South Africa's largest black card-carrying political movement.

Two groups with vastly differing ideologies, they bring the prospect of a struggle for the support of the people of Soweto to the fore.

In the power stakes, Soweto - widely regarded as the barometer of urban black moods - is a key base for any major black national organisation.

Each claims to express black aspirations, rejecting apartheid, and both operate outside the ambit of the Soweto Com-

munity Council, the only Government-recognised decision-making body for Soweto.

Both groups are adamant that power within the black community is not at issue for them. The thrust of their opposition is to the evolution of apartheid.

This week, spokesmen for both groups outlined the basis of their appeal for support.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said the current membership drive and the creation of the Soweto Civic Association at a mass meeting this weekend is a response to appeals to involve ordinary Sowetans in the civic problems of the townships.

"I would never interpret this as a fight for the loyalties of the people of Soweto. Our real enemy is apartheid, and therefore the Government. After all,

they are the chaps who pinched our land. Our problem is white intransigence, oppression and our major enemy is the white racist philosophy."

Inkatha's publicity chairman and principal urban representative for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, of KwaZulu, Mr Gibson Thula, said Inkatha, which had a national card-carrying membership of 200 000, felt in no way threatened by the emergence of the new civic association.

"The majority of people in Soweto are Zulu and we have their support.

"Black solidarity is what is important, not individual differences. It is no longer rhetoric that counts, but a comprehensive programme which presents the image of an alternative government," he said.

For Dr Motlana, however, the scope of the new association was not the same as that of a political party. It would be a civic group geared to agitate on issues such as housing and better facilities.

"We will be a Soweto civic group, but we will also have national affiliations. We want to organise similar groups throughout the country.

"People all over have asked us to involve them more closely in our work. It is a groundswell of feeling and pressure from people who feel they are being left out of the activities of the committee. What we foresee is a grassroot-type of organisation that can address itself to the problems of the people."

He said the Committee of Ten would adhere to its basic demands for full autonomy for Soweto with direct links to central government, freehold land tenure and a massive annual grant to subsidise development of the townships.

Opposition

"We reckon the community council concept falls far below the wishes of the people."

Dr Motlana said he did not take a stand merely to be in opposition to an idea.

"We are prepared to negotiate, even with Government-created institutions like the Johannesburg City Council or other Government departments. But we refuse to work with bodies specifically created to divest us of our rights as citizens. People who work within these bodies are unacceptable to us."

Dr Motlana was reluctant to talk about Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha, which was first established as a cultural organisation for the Zulu people and only recently extended its appeal to include all blacks.

Repeating a criticism he had often voiced, he said: "As long as it is tied to the Government fraud of homelands through its leader, it becomes a source of division and strife in the black community and its ability to contribute to the liberation of our people is limited."

Appeal

Inkatha's appeal in Soweto cannot be dismissed. For the past nine years Chief Buthelezi has drawn mammoth crowds to his annual meetings in Soweto's Jabulani amphitheatre and Inkatha's original pull as a cultural organisation only for Zulu people was this year amended to open the organisation to all black people.

Mr Thula said among Inkatha's aims was the fostering of unity among all blacks, the abolition of all discrimination and the promotion of worthy indigenous customs and cultures.

The Committee of Ten's appeal for an autonomous town council was merely "falling into the trap of Government policy", he said.

"They are in effect calling for a homeland of Soweto. It is amazing that people who are supposed to be radical are peddling the Government's own policy."

Inkatha refused to blind itself to the options of working within the framework of existing Government policy and repudiated accusations that it was furthering such a policy, he said.

"There are only two options for solving South Africa's problems — to pursue dialogue with the National Party or to join the armed struggle. We realise that we are not playing marbles, but are dealing with lives."

Mr Thula said Inkatha was prepared to co-operate with any organisation to achieve its aim "to make South Africa one land and one people".

"We are prepared to co-operate and talk with anybody, even the devil himself, if such talk is meant to solve the problems of this country."

He said Inkatha permitted its members to stand as individuals in the community council elections.

Thebehali Vs. Civic Association

Johannesburg POST in English 27 Sep 79 p 2

[Article by Ike Motsapi and Chris More]

[Text]

Mr Thebehali threatened he would see to it that the SCA did not do a single job to help residents with their problems.

He would also instruct all township managers not to recognise people who will be representatives of the SCA throughout Soweto.

Mr Thebehali also said there was no way in which the Soweto Council and the Committee of Ten could work together.

The Committee of Ten was not prepared to work and talk with the Government. The committee was also pursuing national politics as opposed to the council.

In a statement to POST

Thebehali said: "There are serious differences between the Soweto Council and the Committee of Ten. The newly-formed SCA will not do anything without the approval of my council, and this proves how powerful my council is."

NO COMMENT

"The Committee of Ten cannot build a house, allocate trading, school and church sites for residents. They are an organisation that can never do a single job in Soweto. What can they do to help people of Soweto?" he asked.

Dr Motlana said he did not want to comment on Mr Thebchali's threat when informed of the latest developments.

The SCA was formed last weekend after a two-day conference held by the Committee of Ten at the Holy Cross Anglican Church.

Meanwhile, Dr Motlana rejected an invitation by Mr J C Mahuhushe, chairman of the Diepmeadow Council, to work with his council because it had attained autonomy from the Government.

Mr Mahuhushe made the invitation on Monday after his council and the Dobsonville Council were granted powers to govern themselves.

Rejecting the invitation, Dr Motlana said South Africa was a legalistic country which believed in the law. He said that as long as the Community Council Act was not scrapped, Mr Mahuhushe and other councillors should stop dreaming that they had been granted autonomy.

Faith could only change if Parliament replaced the Community Council Act with one that would give blacks real municipal autonomy.

Meantime, he would ~~stop~~ ^{maintain} his wait-and-see attitude to see how Mr Mahuhushe and others exercised the so-called powers they had.

Motlana Rejection Constitutional Proposals

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 Sep 79 p 3

[Text]

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, yesterday rejected all constitutional schemes planned by the Government, and called for majority rule.

Speaking at the launching of the Soweto Civic Association, which plans to get 100 000 members in Soweto, and encourage similar associations throughout the country, he rejected all constitutional plans based on race.

"We are determined to demythologise race, and will work for a unitary state in which every person has one vote," he told 1 000 people.

He also rejected:

- The community councils and the homeland policy.

- The education system for blacks.

- Any dialogue with homeland leaders, "because they are helping the Government with their final solution for South Africa's political impasse."

Dr Motlana said increased foreign investment and a burgeoning economy with stability had not led to liberalisation of race laws.

"The post-Sharpesville economic boom coincided with the promulgation of

more draconian laws. If foreign investment was guaranteed to lead to structural change in the politics of the country towards a more just dispensation, there would be no problem, because citizens would support such increased foreign investment."

He said there was no scheme anyone could devise which would assure white rule.

"That does not mean whites cannot be part of the majority government, because blacks are not racists."

"In fact, our constitution will include a Bill of

Rights.

"But when liberation comes, we expect a number of whites to flee to Paraguay. We will encourage them to do so without their ill-gotten loot. Some of those who remain will be tried for crimes against humanity."

He said greed, lust for markets, raw materials, trade and minerals had brought the white man to South Africa — which was the home of blacks.

"Millions of rands are wasted in a desperate attempt to deny the facts of history to falsify reality, which is that Africa is the black man's continent — and unfortunately for our racists, he will always be in the majority."

Motlana Interview

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 28 Sep 79 p 11

[Interview with Nthato Motlana by Ameen Akhalwaya]

[Text]

Q: You talk about a liberated South Africa. What do you mean by liberation?

Motlana: We use that phrase really loosely but we mean when the constitution has been changed, society has been restructured to bring all South Africans into a common citizenship, with a common vote, with laws applicable to all people — a situation we hope will come about peacefully.

You want one man, one vote in a unitary system. How do you and the Committee of 10 get there in a practical way from the position you are now in?

As the Committee of 10 is constituted, its primary aim is not to campaign for either one man, one vote or to change the status quo. We are a civic body but it is silly to say we are not political, because all issues in South Africa are political. But our basic thrust is to civic affairs.

But how do you personally see blacks reaching the stage of one man, one vote? You have spoken about sitting down with the Government if it is seriously talking about dismantling the entire apartheid structure. How do you propose the Government actually reaches that stage, or how can you influence the situation to reach that stage?

You mean how we, the oppressed, will influence it? I can only speculate — one is not certain how that can be achieved. The Government is going to be under tremendous pressure over the coming years from blacks inside the country who are unhappy and dissatisfied with the status quo. It is not for me to spell it out for them. I don't head a national political organisation like Azapo. I would imagine there would be pressures, campaigns and demonstrations and meetings — the kind of peaceful pressures that can be brought to bear on the Government.

There is also going to be pressure by South Africa's friends who see their relationship with the racist regime as diminishing their credibility in areas outside South Africa. There are also people who left the country for training to wage war against this country.

I frankly hope the Government will be responsive to the kind of peaceful overtures that are being made all the time to change their ways and redraw our constitution.

Talking about internal pressure such as demonstrations and meetings, is this not going back to the days of the old black political movements? And considering the overall situation in which blacks find themselves now, has it not been a failure? Yes.

Then what guarantee is there that the same won't happen again?

There is no guarantee. In fact, there are many people, including myself, who feel the days of protest politics are over. Having said that, if you ask me what possible scheme I have, I'd say I have none. I would be dishonest to suggest how I see blacks achieving liberation. I don't know — it's not for me to say.

Is that because you might think violence is the only answer and you can't spell it out in those terms because of the law?

Quite honestly, I don't think violence is the only answer, but I do believe that the threat of violence might achieve more.

As a leader of people, surely you should be able to spell out exactly how you wish to achieve certain objectives?

In South Africa? Nobody would be stupid enough to do that kind of thing. I am involved in a civic body. I'm not involved as a leader of a political liberatory movement which, like the ANC, PAC or BPC, had to spell out a programme on how to achieve liberation. Perhaps if I were in the leadership of Azapo, we could do something like that. I have been thrust into the position of leading a civic body.

So you do not see yourself as a national leader?

Not at all.

Has the formation of the Soweto Civic Association been a response to the fact that Inkatha is thinking about going into the community councils?

We don't respond to Inkatha. We respond to our own people who want to participate more fully in the affairs of their city. They think we should identify more clearly with them and they with us in terms of a card-carrying membership. There has been quite a campaign to this effect. When we drew up our blueprint in 1977, we had in fact thought about such a move.

We said Soweto should be divided into 50 wards with a view to the coming elections because we hoped the Government would grant our demands for a city council. We did establish 41 wards before our detention but because of harassment, we suspended these activities.

The aim of the BCA is to work outside the system. At the weekend conference, some proposals, for example on education, were not very practical. Now, in practice, can you work outside the system?

At the time we were really keen on non-formal education, we were frustrated by the system. Unfortunately, the Bantu Education Act made it very strict on those who sought to teach black children. It is a crime for any black to teach another black without the permission of the Minister. They (the authorities) therefore exercise a stranglehold on that kind of non-formal activity.

A paper on education was presented at the conference and commissions studied it. The Committee of 10 must now process those resolutions. Obviously, quite a lot of them will not be activated. Some of them are instructions for us to do certain things which we hope to do. Some of them may prove to be impracticable.

The other role of the body is that it gives direction, leadership and guidance. One area in which people can use their influence is youth clubs where they can teach the youth what it is all about.

How do you feel about mixed schools or blacks going to integrated schools?

In the final analysis, I believe that all facilities in South Africa must be shared. Just as we demand our rights to go into restaurants, into hotels, into suburbs, into universities, we demand the right of people to go into any school anywhere.

Those three demands you spelled out to participate in community councils...

No, we would never participate in community councils. They were demands for the setting up of a proper local authority in which we might take part or recommend that people take part. We say specifically that the Community Councils Act must be repealed.

On your demands, it is not inconceivable that the Government could give the go-ahead for a massive grant or give you full authority as a municipality. Assuming tomorrow Mr P W Botha also gives Soweto unfettered freehold rights, would that clear the way?

Yes. Autonomy meaning freedom to buy additional land, to bring industries here and to do all the things a city council ought to be able to do.

There has been criticism that by asking for an autonomous municipality, you would be merely working within the system and creating a city-state which would be a homelands state.

The idea of a city-state we reject and we reject arguments that we are working towards a city-state. And to show that we reject it, in our blueprint we say that in accepting a local authority for Soweto, we admit quite readily to accepting a measure of separation. That is why we were quite certain the Government would accept our blueprint and initiative because in a way we are accepting certain of their ideas.

We were surprised when they locked us up in jail.

In fact, our biggest supporters were the Nationalist Press. But we go further — we want Soweto to belong to Greater Johannesburg because it is part of Johannesburg. It is a dormitory town of Johannesburg. It will be formed by areas such as Lenasia, Eldorado Park, Ennerdale, Alexandra, Randburg, Sandton and Germiston. The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Board must be established to serve common areas like water, roads and fuel which will make Soweto a part of South Africa and part of Johannesburg like nothing else can.

Wouldn't that be along the lines of P W Botha's constellation idea on a lower level?

I don't know what constellation means. I don't think anybody does.

According to Nationalist thinking, so-called white South Africa would form an economic constellation with the homelands at the top and decentralise power on a lower level on racial lines.

Those areas like Lenasia and Soweto are there, they are a fact of life. How can one deny they are there? It would be like the Greater London Metropolitan Board with 25 or 30 boroughs. It has got nothing to do with a constellation. In fact, in our 1977 blueprint, the word constellation in Mr Botha's terms had not been discovered. Constellation? I don't know about constellation.

Black intellectuals have talked about a socialist system in South Africa. Do you see the idea of an unfettered freehold system in Soweto being more of a capitalist concept?

It is very difficult. The Government has very stupidly made that kind of discussion impossible unless you want to sail close to the wind or court imprisonment. It is therefore impossible to discuss the type of economic order we envisage for our country. That is the complaint I have made about the academicians and people outside who keep criticising us for the kind of outlook we are showing here.

It's like disinvestment — how do you discuss it intelligently when the Government makes it impossible? Today, 1979, South Africa has a capitalist-type economy. Some young blacks have said let us set an example about communalism and set up communes in Soweto. It's just not possible. It is even nonsensical to talk about it.

In this type of economy, there is a dilemma in the black consciousness movement and among many nationalists — do we participate in companies? Do we allow Motlana, our chairman, to join a company to build houses? Do we support the black chain, the African bank? My answer is that we must certainly participate to the extent that we make money and use it for our own projects. Some young blacks refuse to work. I say you have no choice. There is a lot of confusion about a lot of issues.

There is a problem, but I say let us talk about it. Students criticise me for not putting a Marxist interpretation on things. How do I do it in South Africa? Do I refuse to live in a house like this? In any case, is it socialism to live in hovels? Are hovelism and socialism synonymous? Why shouldn't socialists aspire to have all their people live in three-bedroom houses? I don't see a contradiction.

But in South Africa, as long as it is capitalist-orientated like this, I'm going to recommend that people go to work. Certainly you're going to work in the system, you've got no choice. But come liberation, the economic order we may then bring about may be scientific socialism or democratic socialism like you have in Sweden. I'm inclined to favour that kind (Swedish) which allows a large measure of public participation but there is a certain measure of private enterprise.

I'm convinced that private enterprise, with the sort of in-

centives that it provides, leads to better production. And Russia has proved this. In Poland, agricultural production is the highest and best because 75% of the land is still in private hands. But often when you collectivise and socialise, production drops. In Russia, 3% of the land was in private hands and it nearly produced 50% of the output of collectivised farming.

Men are still essentially selfish. Maybe in the year 5000 we shall have changed, but at the present moment people work harder, better if they know they personally will benefit. Socialists themselves don't agree. Think about the "revisionists" in China. How many cars does Russian Prime Minister Brezhnev have?

The SA Black Alliance is representative of black groups such as Inkatha, the Labour Party, the Reform Party and so forth. Do you see it as a major political movement and is there a need for an alliance of groups working outside Government-created institutions?

I'm loath to discuss Inkatha and the Black Alliance. It's almost impossible to discuss that rationally. But it's a public institution that must be talked about. My own idea is that there are levels of collaboration. Because we live in Lenasia, Soweto, Ennersdale, we are in fact collaborating with the system. We travel in third class reserved train compartments or a child here goes to a "Bantu" school and that kind of thing. In that respect we are forced to do so.

But where you have a free choice, you should refuse to collaborate with the system especially at the level of homelands policies whose sole purpose is to deny us citizenship. I think at that level, people should say: "Thus far and no further."

I can understand people living in Soweto. They are still South Africans. There is still a hope that if they protest they may get their South African citizenship.

But if you take steps on a one-way road that will lead you out of South Africa — people like Matanzima may not agree — I make the biggest difference between a man who accepts apartheid to the extent that he lives in Soweto and goes to a Bantu Education school and a man who is told that now we are setting up little countries, that you belong there, that you can practise whatever political rights you wish to have there but here you don't belong to "white" South Africa. If you make yourself an instrument, however unwilling, in that process, I draw one helluva line.

The homeland policy... it denies us our South African citizenship. The citizenship issue is absolutely vital.

Chief Buthelesi says he draws the line at accepting independence for KwaZulu, that he will never accept independence.

He is involved in talks about consolidation. It is open to question what he will do if he gets Richards Bay and other places. But to be fair to him, he has said he won't accept independence even after consolidation. Essentially, I'm talking about homeland leaders in general. I find it difficult to meet people who I think are helping the Nationalists carry out their evil designs on our people because I don't see how we can cooperate especially at the level of homelands policies.

I can work with, say, a principal who is cooperating with the system by being in a "Bantu" school, because he is improving the quality of education of our children. He is not helping in divesting my people of their political rights, or helping to deprive them of their South African citizenship or agreeing to the abuse of my people. And this is the big difference.

But I don't want to get into a public fight. Our white masters laugh at our fratricidal warfare. Our fight is not with Inkatha — it is with the Government.

Under what circumstances would you be prepared to sit and talk with Chief Buthelet? I have told him I admire his role in Inkatha and I would be prepared to join it the day he severs his connection with the KwaZulu legislative body. Turning to your statement that Africa is the black man's continent and that some whites could be charged with crimes against humanity after liberation, can you elaborate?

It has now been twisted and taken out of context. I said Africa is the black man's continent in the sense that we are in the majority and I went on to emphasise that there is no scheme that anyone can devise that will leave whites in the majority. I have said publicly that South Africa belongs to all its people — black and white — and I've never said that in a black man's continent other people are not welcome. They are most welcome. This land belongs to all of us.

But we definitely resent the idea that this land can be made into a type of white reserve. It was in that context that I used the phrase.

The warning about charging some people with crimes against humanity is meant as a deterrent. It is intended to warn them that they can't go on doing things to black people without being answerable.

Colored Council Member's Comment

Johannesburg POST in English 28 Sep 79 p 6

[Text]

A MEMBER of the Labour Party in the Coloured Representative Council came out strongly against Dr Nthato Motlana's suggestion that Soweto be granted full municipal autonomy.

Mr Sam Solomon, also in the Coloured Management Committee of the Johannesburg City Council said he viewed Dr Motlana's suggestion as asking for separate development or apartheid — a policy that "his Committee of Ten claims to be fighting against."

Mr Solomon said: "I am sure the majority of the people reject it. This is a political system that deserves contempt. I find it most disgusting."

He said by opting for the autonomy of Soweto, Dr Motlana was somehow

pleading for second class status.

"People like Motlana and Thebehali and other enlightened black leaders should strive for direct representation in the Johannesburg City Council.

"In other words," said Mr Solomon, "the men should be sitting in the City Council as full-fledged councillors representing their various wards like any other city councillor. I am aware of the policy in the country but they should not let the system condition them.

"Dr Motlana makes contradicting statements when he says he refuses to partake in the Community Council but in the same breath asks for Government grants. He is being inconsistent. We do accept and admit that community councils, coloured and Indian management committees which are based on race are all useless and should be scrapped. But our pragmatism and realism demand that we acknowledge the presence of these institutions."

Mr Solomon said all the people in South Africa, Indians, blacks, whites and coloureds should negotiate on equal terms under one body and fight for the betterment of the situation in this country.

"After all," he said, "the black community has contributed for the past 300 years, and is still contributing to the eco- and the whole of South Africa.

"Blacks in Johannesburg are entitled to the financial cake which is

now being dominated by whites. Johannesburg can never stand without black labour. It can never stand without black buying power. It is therefore out for a black man to opt for second class status as Motlana seems to be doing."

Mr Solomon said Soweto can never be run as an autonomous municipal area because it lacked the revenue producing machinery — the central business districts. And it is the mere fact that Wrab has accumulated a deficit that shows clearly that Soweto cannot be run on beer and rent money, he added.

"I therefore feel that any dispensation based on race is ungodly and as Christians we cannot accept it. Because of lack of articulate leadership in the black community I think time has arrived to call for a black convention so that we can debate the political issues and iron out different political strategies so that we have clear-cut concepts," said Mr Solomon.

He concluded: "You can never isolate the struggle. No black man can do that. We also cannot be isolated in the liberation struggle. All the oppressed voteless people must get together for a better Christian South Africa."

'Constellation' Concept a 'Sin'

Johannesburg POST in English 24 Sep 79 p 2

[Text]

THE REV Lebamang Sebidi, former rector of St Peter's Seminary and member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, yesterday described Prime Minister P W Botha's "constellation of states" as "a heinous and diabolical sin that cried to high heaven for divine wrath and vengeance."

Rev Sebidi, a Roman Catholic priest, was speaking at the Committee of Ten conference at the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West. He spoke on the "Theology of Liberation".

He described sin as not merely an "interior individual, private or spiritual stain adhering on the so-called soul". "Sin is an event more external than interior, more visible than invisible, an event which gives rise to a network of inter-personal relations that dehumanise, objectify and turn people into things, means or instruments.

"Sin is evident in our socio-political structure. Examples proliferate in our South African society of such sins. For instance one of the worst sins that cry to heaven for vengeance is the structure or system of migratory labour.

"Another is the so-called system of job reservation, or to summarise them all, the so-called constellation of states which is designed to cheat more than 20 million people of their citizenship and heritage of their land of their forefathers.

"In fact in South Africa there is no sin which equals the constellation of states in its heinousness and diabolical implications. It cries to high heaven for divine wrath and vengeance. This sin does," he said.

He said Christianity had to liberate, as the name Jesus said. In its whole form it was Joshua, the one who liberates.

He said Christ's liberatory work began with man, the whole of man and ended with him.

Father Sebidi also added that the personal version of Christianity, the preaching of a life beyond this world, did not appeal to the majority of the black people, especially the young ones who identified with June 16.

TWO SOWETO COUNCILS GRANTED POWERS

Johannesburg POST in English 25 Sep 79 p 1

[Article by Ike Notsapi]

[Text] The Dobsonville and Diepmeadow councils were yesterday granted powers that make them completely autonomous.

The ceremony was held at the Carlton Centre yesterday morning.

Documents of agreement were signed by Mr Manie Mulder, chairman of the West Rand Administration Board, Mr Steve Kgame, chairman of Dobsonville Council, and Mr J G Mahuhushe, chairman of Diepmeadow Council.

The two councils can now appoint their staff establishments and control their treasury.

The only powers not granted to this council were those of controlling services. These are still in the hands of the Government.

Consultants appointed by these councils are investigating these matters.

Wrab will now act as agents for these councils and must not do anything without their authority.

Mr Kgame said the reason to retain Wrab as advisors was that Wrab had expert advisers and their guidance was needed.

Mr Mahuhushe said the important feature of Diepmeadow being granted complete powers was that they would ease their housing backlog in Soweto.

The council had drawn up the waiting list and was busy planning to build some houses.

Some of these houses will be built by the council, others by the private sector.

Referring to increases in Soweto, the two chairmen said rent increases appeared to be inevitable to finance the existing unsatisfactory level of services.

Increases are being held in abeyance while experts appointed by the council and department officials re-examine every details of Wrab's budget for the council areas.

The councils are also negotiating at top level with the Government and employers to help cushion these increases.

CSO: 4420

PHATUDI CALLS FOR DIALOG, NOT EXCLUSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Johannesburg POST in English 24 Sep 79 p 4

[Article by Mathatha Tsedu]

[Text]

LEBOWA Chief Minister, Dr Cedric Phatudi, yesterday reiterated his objections to Chief Buthelezi's Black Alliance and said exclusive organisations have in the past failed to solve the South African problems.

He was reacting to a bitter attack by Chief Buthelezi in which he called Dr Phatudi "a pawn in the Government game of divide and rule" by rejecting the alliance.

In his statement Dr Phatudi said the problems of South Africa would not be solved by exclusive alliances but by "a round table conference of all leaders within the country."

OBSTACLE

On the Political Interference Act which Chief Buthelezi had mentioned as the obstacle to white membership of the alliance, he said the Kwa-Zulu chief should work towards the repealing of the Act rather than form an exclusive organisation.

Dr Phatudi was, however, further criticised by other members of his Legislative Assembly. Mr T P Makola, of the opposition Black People's Party, said the alliance, "as an interim measure to rally all the oppressed people together, is good. Dr Phatudi's argument will be valued after liberation. But right now we need to organise ourselves exclusively as oppressed people."

Another opposition member, Mr M W Choue, said the alliance served black solidarity. It is intended to be a political power base to accommodate all the dispossessed people who are against apartheid. It is very ridiculous for him to reject the alliance."

Miss Noni Ledwaba, assistant secretary of the Lebowa People's Party, said Dr Phatudi did not care for anything black. "He started with Rev Jesse Jackson, a soul brother, now the alliance, also black. We had two straight challenges recently from whites when they said we were violent by nature and we were like baboons, but he kept silent because those are whites and he does not want to upset his masters," she said.

MATANZIMA RESHUFFLES TRANSKEI CABINET

Johannesburg POST in English 26 Sep 79 p 3

[Article by Marcus Ngani]

[Text]

AMID a growing wave of political unrest in Transkei, Prime Minister George Matanzima has taken over two key Cabinet security portfolios — defence and police — from his immediate right-hand man, Chief George Ndabankulu.

In a minor but significant cabinet reshuffle announced in Umtata yesterday, the Prime Minister has removed Chief Ndabankulu to the relatively quiet portfolio of commerce, industry and tourism.

Until Chief George took over as Prime Minister at the beginning of the year, he and elder brother Chief Kaiser — now State President — had always shared the defence and police portfolios.

Political observers believe this was for security purposes to guard against a coup against the Matanzima brothers.

OPPOSITION

With the political atmosphere regarded as fluid especially in the opposition party stronghold in eastern Pondoland, it is unlikely that the Matanzima brothers were happy with Chief Ndabankulu as minister of defence and of police.

Chief Ndabankulu is MP for Flagstaff in eastern Pondoland. Although he is a ruling party member and one of most senior cabinet ministers he has strong family ties with the Sigcau royal house now associated with the opposition party.

In his cabinet reshuffle, Prime Minister Matanzima has also removed the former PAC leader, Mr T T Letlaka, from the finance department where his vigilance as watchdog of government funds became questionable last week.

This was when a special session of the Transkei National Assembly passed a motion of censure against five government departments found to have mispent more than R4.78-million.

REPORTAGE ON BLACK TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS

Explanation of New Law

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Oct 79 p 16

[Article by Siegfried Hannig]

[Text]

From today black trade unions can apply to become fully registered — and no employer, nor any trade union catering for other races, has any legal right to object to their registration.

The Star approached two experts to separate facts from the myths and fears which threaten to prevent black unions from enjoying their newly-gained rights.

For example, it is alleged that the Industrial Registrar has unlimited powers to refuse registration, and that registration would put black unions under rigid control and supervision.

The Industrial Registrar, Mr Nico Hitchcock, spelled out the facts as follows:

● "I have no sweeping or unlimited powers to refuse the registration of a trade union," he said.

● "Only a registered trade union is legally entitled to object to the registration of another trade union.

● "White or coloured trade unions will have no legal right to object to the registration of a black union. The right of objection is restricted to a union's scope of registration.

● "The applicant union need only satisfy me that it has enrolled enough members to function as a union in a specific industry and area.

● "The applicant union does not have to be representative of the workers of any industry, although it can be registered only in a specific industry or industries.

● "It is for any objecting union to prove that it is representative of the industry in which the new union seeks registration. If the objecting union proves that it represents more than 50 percent of the workers, then the application for registration must be rejected.

● "Unions may apply for provisional registration. This is granted without gazetting the application for possible objections from registered unions.

● "Racially mixed unions have to obtain permission from the Minister before applying for registration."

Mr Hitchcock pointed out that provisional registration does not entitle a union to join an industrial council, while subjecting it to the obligations which apply to registered unions.

These obligations include the submission of financial statements.

Asked whether any steps might be taken against unions which receive foreign financial support for education, organisation or strikes, Mr Hitchcock said:

"The law is silent on financial support from beyond South Africa's borders."

Professor Willy Bendix, of the Institute of Labour Relations at the University of South Africa, discounted the allegation of "rigid control and supervision" by saying:

"There are no externally imposed controls other than those which existed before the new legislation."

"To my knowledge no registered union has complained about the existing controls. Why should an unregistered union have special privileges?"

However, he admitted that the Wiehahn Commission recommended:

● That provision be made for the appointment of financial inspectors to undertake inspections and to analyse the financial affairs of trade unions and employer organisations.

● That the National Manpower Commission be asked to keep "the position regarding the election or appointments of persons to responsible positions in trade unions under surveillance, with a view to making recommendations if necessary."

Thloloe on Non-registerable Unions

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 24 Sep 79 p 4

[Text]

BLACK trade unionists came under fire at the Committee of Ten's weekend conference for trying to "play their separate little game by the same rules that excluded them from the main game".

Mr Joe Thloloe, a senior black journalist, said there were 27 non-registerable black unions with an estimated membership of between 55 000 and 70 000.

"One needs a microscope to see this small speck against the vast picture that is the black labour force," he said.

He outlined what he believed were the probable causes of the situation.

● "When we were excluded from the industrial conciliation machinery because of legalised racism, we the oppressed internalised this interpretation of ourselves," he said. "We made it our own. That was the beginning of apathy. We lost sight of the fact that we can define ourselves and our direction. This definition, by the oppressed, is the beginning of liberation."

● "In our history we have stressed political freedom without the necessary stress on our basic strength — our labour."

Mr Thloloe said blacks had developed "the art of excuses".

● Black unionists had been playing a game that would be amusing if it was not so tragic. "Excluded from a game by rules they did not make, they have tried to play their little separate game by those very rules. This is where the concept of 'responsible' trade unionism started."

"They want to show the makers of the rules that they know them and should be admitted to the main game," he said. The result was "trade union organisers going to wait outside factories to get membership, organisers sneaking in at lunch-time to talk to workers to join."

"These very organisers live with us in the locations. This is where the organisation should have started. During our weekends, during our evenings, we have time to listen and be educated."

Tucsa Official's Comment

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Oct 79 p 4

[Text]

MR ARTHUR Grobbelaar, general secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa), yesterday expressed concern that the South African work-force may polarise further along racial lines.

Addressing the business outlook conference of the National Development and Management Foundation of South Africa, Mr Grobbelaar expressed the hope that non-racial unions would be allowed in the "very near future".

Referring to the continued prohibition on mixed unions including blacks in new labour legislation, Mr Grobbelaar said he was "deeply disturbed" about this entrenchment of racial division in the trade union structure.

With the current opening up of true bargaining rights for underprivileged workers a considerable change would take place in bargaining patterns.

Unions whose members had

attained a position of relative well-being would be concerned with the maintenance of the status quo.

On the other hand, underprivileged workers would seek new status and a re-ordering of the existing order.

"Given South Africa's social framework this divergence will certainly be along racial lines and the dangers of racial polarisation are both inherent and imminent," he said.

The new dispensation sought to outlaw political activities in trade unions.

But the more militant black and coloured political groups had already decided upon the tactics and strategy of combining political aspirations with economic or trade union aspirations.

"Hence my concern with the continued enforcement of racial separation in trade unions, which can only encourage racial polarisation in the workplace."

List of Banned Unionists

Johannesburg POST in English 21 Sep 79 p 1

[Text]

A TOTAL of 17 people connected with the black labour movement are still banned under the Internal Security Act.

Altogether 22 people connected with the movement were banned during November 1978, but the banning orders against five have now been lifted, the latest early this week.

● On Monday, Mr Loet Douwes-Dekker (43) received notice the order against him was lifted.

● On September 10, Mr Eric Tyacke and his wife Jean were unbanned.

● Two months ago Mr Charles Simkin was freed of his ban.

● The order against Dr John Frankish was also lifted recently.

Mr and Mrs Tyacke

and Mr Douwes-Dekker were with the Urban Training Project, a service organisation that helps black trade unions, when they were banned.

Mr Simkin and Dr Frankish were with two other service organisations — the Trade Union Advisory and Co-ordinating Council (TUACC) and the Western Province Wor-

kers' Advice Bureau (WPWAB).

Mr Simkin's ban was lifted so he could take up a teaching post at the University of Natal.

Hopes of a general amnesty for the leaders of the labour movement were dashed yesterday when police headquarters confirmed that the bans on 17 had not been lifted.

The hopes were rais-

ed after the Wiehahn Commission had recommended a "new deal" for black trade unions.

All the people banned in November 1976 were connected with UTP, TUACC, the WPWAB, the Institute for Industrial Education, and the Wages Commission of the University of Cape Town.

Those still banned are:

Sipho Kubbeka, Gavin Anderson, Moses Ndlovu, John Copeland, Mike and Jennette Murphy, Alpheus Mletwa, Pat Horn, Chris Alberton, Judy Pavish, Mary and Tanya Simons, Wilma van Blerk, Elijah Loua, Debby Budlender, Graham Bloch and Willy Hofmeyer.

BLACK SURVIVAL THROUGH SOCIAL INTERDEPENDENCE STUDIED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 21 Sep 79 p 5

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

THE TRADITIONAL African concept of ubuntu or humanity plays a vital role in enabling the people of poverty-stricken black townships to survive and multiply, according to the Rhodes University anthropologist, Ms Marcia Willsworth.

Ms Willsworth confronts one of the central paradoxes of South Africa life: how black communities dependent on wages calculated to be below the poverty datum line (PDL) not only survive but increase.

Her findings, published in the latest issue of the journal, "Social Dynamics," are based on her research into the lives of the 35 000 people of Grahamstown's black township.

Ms Willsworth quotes figures from a survey of wages in the township to show that nearly 90% of its workers earned less than R110 a month in May 1978, R110 being between the primary and secondary PDLs for the area at that time.

One answer to the paradox of survival is that unemployment in the township is not as bad as it is thought to be by the general public. Ms Willsworth calculates that nearly 60% of the adults are employed full-time.

The employment position of black women is relatively favourable: more than 50% are in full-time registered employ-

ment, mainly as domestic servants, as against a national average for black women of less than 25%.

The result is that there are more than one breadwinner per household, 1.8 to be precise. The women do not work from choice. Families are forced to have "multiple breadwinners" because of low wages.

But the thrust of Ms Willsworth's analysis makes it clear that more than one breadwinner per household does not suffice to explain the paradox. It has got to be buttressed by the Xhosa ideal of ubuntu.

Ubuntu, she says, favours qualities such as kindness, generosity, neighbourliness, brotherliness, co-operation and mutual aid — in contrast to the competitiveness and acquisitiveness of white society.

"Ubuntu is incorporated in the Xhosa proverb which says, *Akukho ndlovu isinduna ngumboko wayo* — There is no elephant which can scratch its own back."

In contrast to ubuntu, a behaviour norm which is encouraged and nurtured by the community, is *ulunya* or lack of kindness.

"The brother who fails to fulfil his obligations, the neighbour who is unneighbourly, the white or black official who takes his time before attending to people were condemned by respondents as lacking in ubuntu and the extremely derogatory remark of *ulunya* was applied to them."

Ms Willsworth says those who are too aloof, too lacking in ubuntu, or "too much of the English" are threatened with the ultimate sanction of community withdrawal from them.

Commenting on the threat to move the township people to Glenmore, Ms Willsworth says: "It will disrupt the community's ability to deal with its own poverty."

Yesterday Ms Willsworth stressed that ubuntu should not be seen as a romanticisation of the way of life of the poor but as a strategy of survival by a people battling against hardship.

IDEA OF WHITE SERVICEMEN IN BLACK SCHOOLS CRITICIZED

University Staff Response

Johannesburg POST in English 21 Sep 79 p 2

[Text]

THE USE of white national servicemen to ease the teacher shortage in black education will not solve the problem of an unsound and discriminatory system of black education.

This is the view of the Black Academic Staff Association (Basa) of the University of the North, contained in a letter sent to the Johannesburg Regional Director of Education and Training, Mr Jaap Strydom. The letter is in response to Mr Strydom's request to black parents to comment on the use of white soldiers in black schools.

Basa said they viewed "with alarm and utter dismay the use of white national servicemen in black education" and strongly deplored their continuing participation in the education of black children because:

● The national servicemen are disseminating propaganda meant to discredit authentic black leaders whilst promoting those sponsored by the Government. This is indoctrination and is educationally indefensible.

● A uniformed and armed white national serviceman induces fear in students and inhibits learning. He cannot serve as an effective identification model for students because they regard him as part of the oppressive machinery that they have to contend with daily.

● Over-production in white schools will lead to the permanent employment of white teachers in black schools and create unfair competition with blacks.

● Blacks should be meaningfully involved in the decision-making of their education and not merely consulted. Their exclusion smacks of negative paternalism which negates the democratic principle of self determination.

The letter also says black education as it is "is decidedly inferior" to all other systems in the country and suggests that a programme of heavy commitments in expenditure be embarked upon.

"What is needed is affirmative action in order to make up for the existent backlog. The ideal is that there should be one education system for all, under the control of one Minister."

Soweto Educator's Comment

Johannesburg POST in English 3 Oct 79 p 2

[Article by Ike Motsapi]

[Text]

THE Department of Education and Training should not take advantage of the lull in Soweto and employ white soldiers as teachers, Soweto educationist Mr T W Kambule warned yesterday.

This move, Mr Kambule said, could cause "an explosion like that of 1976."

Mr Kambule, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand and educational advisor to the American Embassy, said the

department seemed to "think the educational crisis in Soweto had been solved."

The black people of Soweto, he said, knew that black education was one of the main issues that "had to be put right."

At present there was a lull, and for the department to take advantage of this lull "is dangerous."

He said the issue of using servicemen in Soweto schools had long been decided, and the department's call for black opinion "was merely to give the impression that there was consultation on the matter".

He said the teacher crisis in Soweto was an artificial creation by the Government.

"The Government must provide incentives to draw back to teaching the hordes of teachers who left because of the poor educational system, poor salaries, unattractive working conditions and lack of housing loans," he added.

CSO: 4420

COLOURED COUNCIL CRITICIZES CADET TRAINING PROGRAM

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 30 Sep 79 p 19

[Article by Norman West]

[Text]

THE executive committee of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council wants youths who were jailed for absconding from the cadet-training centre at Faure, near Cape Town, to be released.

The request is contained in a resolution passed by the executive calling on the Government to repeal the Act compelling coloured males between the ages of 18 and 24 to register for possible recruitment as cadets at the centre.

This follows an earlier call by the executive to close down the controversial Faure cadet camp, CRC executive member Mr Norman Middleton told the Sunday Times.

The executive resolved that:

- The cadet-training centre be closed "forthwith".
- That the Government be requested to repeal the relevant Act.

- That the Department of Coloured Relations be informed that the facilities at the centre remain at the disposal of the Administration of Coloured Affairs.
- That the centre be utilised as an industrial school and place of detention for boys.
- That approaches be made to the Prisons Board that sentences imposed on cadets who absconded be set aside and that they be released.
- That an appeal be made to the Minister of Justice that sentences passed on cadets who absconded from the cadet camp not be reflected in their files.

Mr Middleton said that the South African Defence Force has already approached the Administration of Coloured Affairs to use the camp as an extension of the Cape Corps Service Battalion's training grounds.

The closure of the camp was first recommended in a special report tabled by the CRC's Adams committee of inquiry into welfare institutions falling under the Administration of Coloured Affairs.

It found that hundreds of coloured youths have run away from the centre, mainly because of corporal punishment, excessive or extensive drill periods, ineffective counselling by psychologists, disillusionment, homesickness and inadequate rehabilitation programmes.

BOTHA GOVERNMENT ADOPTS NEW ECONOMIC STRATEGY

Fleur de Villiers Article

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 30 Sep 79 p 21

[Article by Fleur de Villiers]

[Text]

"WE HAVE erred," said the Cabinet Minister, sadly, as he gazed back down the years at the wreckage left by apartheid. "We should not have tried to make the economy the tool of a political policy."

It was an amazing statement for a Nationalist Cabinet Minister to make; this grave admission that a compartmentalised South Africa, the cornerstone of the Verwoerdian dream, had proved both wrong and expensive.

The admission was followed by the announcement of a new economic strategy of sweeping implications.

That it passed almost without comment proves, more than anything else, that South Africa is sleeping through a revolution.

Restlessly perhaps, and with many a Nationalist nightmare about mixed restaurants, mixed post offices and even mixed marriages, but the full size and scope of the revolution has yet to dawn on a country and a party waking reluctantly from its apartheid-induced sleep.

For, while shocked verkramptes and a sometimes resentful Opposition gaze fixedly at the disappearing rumps of the doomed holy cows of social apartheid, it is the economic arm of the revolutionary plan which provides the best clue to both its cause and its final effect.

The keys to the unlikely revolution, staged and orchestrated by the Prime Minister are:

- The nightmare of millions of black unemployed nurturing a fertile soil for Marxism and internal revolution.

- The overpowering belief that South Africa is facing a total external onslaught.

- The conviction that it cannot fight both on its borders and at home.

- The realisation that Nationalist Afrikanerdom must be prepared to sacrifice its ideology, its privilege and its prejudice if it is to exist at all.

Partnership

The effect of that revolution — as the black and white businessmen who meet Mr Botha in Johannesburg on November 22 could learn — will be the creation of a "war economy" in which the private sector enters a firm partnership with government so that the country's resources can be directed more purposefully.

The cost of the merger: the sacrifice of Government ideology and the loss of a measure of private-sector independence.

Its aims: the defusing of pressure group dissent as businessmen are brought into the P W Botha power structure.

Its hoped-for benefits: private-sector initiative in developing the infrastructure of the homelands as an integral part of the South African economy.

Also the creation of economic growth to lay the foundations of the Southern African fortress, to defuse unemployment and to instruct blacks in both the cities and the homelands in the benefits of the capitalist system.

How the idea of a "war economy" is to be reconciled with the Government's professed devotion to free-market principles, remains to be explained.

Prescription

But the purpose, at least, is clear, and the effort is under way.

The Government, as Minister of Industries, Dr Schalk van der Merwe, disclosed this week, has finally decided that South Africa and the former and present homelands are one economy; that attempts to compartmentalise it on Verwoerdian lines produced serious structural weaknesses and "aberrations"; and that the process was now to be reversed.

The doctor's immediate prescription included bringing the separate homeland development corporations in from the cold and under the umbrella of the Industrial Development Corporation.

There, homelands will no longer be developed independently but as part of a greater South Africa — a total denial of Verwoerdian economics.

South Africa needed a "balanced development of its industries".

The subsistence economies of the black states would have to be fused with the advanced South African economy which would have to be developed "for the good of all South Africa's peoples".

The private sector — "the strongest element in the South African economy" — would be closely involved, Dr Van der Merwe said.

In return, Government would stage an orderly retreat from the market place as it divested itself of its major public corporations.

A plan drawn up by the Prime Minister's economic adviser, Dr Simon Brand, on the national economic strategy was about to see the light of day and would be implemented immediately, he said.

It would not be regarded as a "final solution" but would be both "flexible and on-going" — a useful government euphemism for a process of radical change.

What Dr Verwoerd put asunder Mr Botha and his men are determined to join together.

Visible

But if the economic leg of Mr Botha's national strategy is vital to its success, it is the social platform of his policy which is most visible.

The speed at which Mr Botha, the demolition expert, is prepared to dismantle apartheid to secure the loyalty of black and brown South Africans took even his closest allies by surprise this week as the revolution swung into top gear.

Last Saturday, Professor Ben Vosloo of Stellenbosch, and a close confidant of Government, shattered the calm of the National Party youth congress with a speech which methodically destroyed every tepid of the apartheid faith.

All South Africans shared a common destiny, he said.

The status quo could not be maintained peacefully and South Africa would have to create a society in which every citizen, irrespective of race, colour or sex, could enjoy acceptable and justifiable opportunities to develop to his fullest potential.

At the same time, South Africa would have to create a constitutional structure in which all citizens could take part in the governing process at all levels of authority.

Essential to both developments was the normalising of the social climate which would create the necessary willingness to compromise and co-operate.

Declaration

This would include:

- A declaration of human rights.
- The repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, and Section 16 of the Immorality Act; the remaining forms of job reservation; and the ban on house and property ownership for urban blacks.
- The creation of "open" business and industrial areas.
- Opening cultural and recreational facilities to all population groups.
- The progressive repeal of all assignments under the Separate Amenities Act.

Professor Vosloo assured a startled congress that he was merely "reconnoitering" and delegates relaxed.

The future and its heresies could look after itself.

Three days later at the Cape congress of the National Party, the future arrived.

Mr Botha opened the door on changes to the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts.

Mr Marais Steyn said that all restaurateurs could open their doors to all races.

Courage

Mr Panie Botha gave trade union rights to homeland blacks.

Dr Piet Koorhof, in his typically convoluted style, appeared to open the door on leasehold rights for urban blacks in the Western Cape.

Dr Van der Merwe un-

veiled the economic revolution.

And an errant Cabinet Minister, hinting broadly at further changes to come, said that suddenly he "felt free".

And Mr Botha said that the Government was not rigidly bound to any of its laws and should have the courage to right its mistakes.

That courage will be sorely tested in the coming months as conservative Nationalists in powerful cultural pressure groups join forces in a counter-revolutionary movement which could yet face Mr Botha with the spectre of a divided Afrikanerdom.

The guerrilla warfare, ranging in method from open dissent in church and cultural organisation, to rumour and character assassination, has already begun.

But the Prime Minister is not without his own weapons.

Balance

The strongest, perhaps, is the fact that he belongs to the same Nationalist "blood-line" as President M T Steyn of the Free State Republic, Dr J B Hertzog and Dr D F Malan — the founder of modern nationalism and its only leader who has survived the judgment of posterity unscathed.

The bloodline was stressed by Mr Alwyn Schiebusch this week when he invoked the name of President Steyn to stress Mr Botha's "balanced Nationalism".

It was heavily underscored by the Prime Minister himself in this quotation from the thoughts of Dr Malan.

"I believe in the fatherhood of God, which means the value of every human being whatever his language, colour or creed, and the brotherhood of all men who are all equal before the sight of God."

Against that quotation from that kind of folk hero, Dr Verwoerd's ideological heirs could yet prove powerless; their counter-revolution doomed to failure.

Economic Advisory Committee

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Sep 79 p 3

[Article by Helen Zille]

[Text]

THE Government is planning far-reaching changes to South Africa's economic philosophy.

A committee chaired by the Prime Minister's economic adviser, Dr Simon Brand, is working on a plan to restructure the economy with two basic aims: To draw the rural subsistence economies into the ambit of the advanced free enterprise system and to allow the private sector more freedom from state interference.

This was made clear this week by the Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr Schalk van der Merwe.

In an interview with the Rand Daily Mail, Dr Van der Merwe said the purpose of the investigation was to bring the economy in line with the Prime Minister's concept of a "total national strategy".

According to this strategy, the Government aims to draw all sectors of South Africa into a common anti-Marxist front.

"We are working on a plan for the economy to convince people that their future welfare lies within the free enterprise economy and that Marxism is

not a more attractive alternative," Dr Van der Merwe said.

The meeting in Johannesburg on November 22 between the Cabinet and business leaders should be seen against the background of the Government's "total strategy" plan and the role the Government wants the private sector to play.

Dr Van der Merwe said the work of the Brand Committee would follow five basic guidelines:

- To fuse the subsistence and mixed economies with the advanced free enterprise economies of the urban areas.
- Stimulate growth and curb unemployment and inflation.
- Revise the state's involvement in large national corporations.
- Involve the private sector in these corporations.
- Revise the compartmentalisation between the homeland development corporations.

Dr Van der Merwe said he was not insinuating that the previous economic philosophy had been wrong.

"But if it was not entirely suitable we are now working on a new economic philosophy," he said.

Private Sector Planning Role

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 23 Sep 79 p 1

[Article by Donald Andrew]

[Text]

THE eagerly awaited and "thoroughly restructured" 1979 economic development programme (EDP), which could have far-reaching implications for curbing Government encroachment on free enterprise, is expected to be ready for publication as early as this week or next.

This was disclosed to Business Times by the Prime Minister's economic adviser and Economic Advisory Council (EAC) chairman Simon Brand, who also announced a possible extension of the private sector's involvement in the formulation of future EDPs.

"Clearly signing himself with the 'professed intention of

Government to foster" the private sector's role in the economy, he revealed the formation of an EAC committee which is investigating extending and intensifying the use of the more

than 30 sectoral advisory committees (SACs) from the private and public sectors involved in the run-up to the final compilation of the EDP.

This would result in more detailed sectoral planning designed to increase the sensitivity of economic policymakers for the needs and conditions in the different sectors while curbing interference in the market system and private business decisions.

Dr Brand says the EDP's usefulness is determined to a large extent by contact between the public and private sectors during its drafting.

This is achieved on a panel of SACs where a great deal of cross-pollination of opinions on trends and the implications of projections on different sectors are thrashed out before the EAC itself deliberates.

He foresees a broader role being initiated on an experimental basis in a number of sectors. Among the aspects of economic policy which could fruitfully be dealt with, he lists:

- First-hand and early information on current levels of sectoral activities

- The effects which current economic policies are having on conditions in specific sectors
- The long-term trends in the structures of different sectors
- Associated policy implications

Policy on Inflation

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 23 Sep 79 p 1

[Article by Stephen Orpen]

[Text] Fasten seat belts for an acceleration in inflation up to a rate of 15% a year--if not more.

Also, do not expect Pretoria to leap to the rescue.

The country's economic managers feel there is little that can be done to relieve the crushing pressures of rising prices in the short term. Not without slowing economic growth--to which they are unswervingly and rightly committed.

That is the official message spelt out for me by the Ministry of Finance on Friday.

The cadre of free marketeers and growth-first advocates working with Minister of Finance Owen Horwood and the Reserve Bank, do not like the idea of higher inflation any more than you or I.

But they are sticking to their guns that growth plus inflation is better than less growth plus possibly even higher inflation.

They are also hopeful that inflation will moderate down to 11% or less within a year as the special reasons for the recent surge in the general price level slide away.

The inflation rate is expected to rise in the short term because the full impact of the fuel price rises has not yet been fully reflected in the latent Consumer and Wholesale Price Indices, and nor has the continuing steep climb in food prices.

Main reasons for the recent and current rise in the inflation rate (now about 13%) are listed as the advent of the general sales tax, the oil price explosion, disproportionate increases in black pay without parallel rises in black productivity and quantum jumps in certain administered prices--for instance as much as 50% in electricity tariffs.

A senior planner is adamant that "there will be no wage freeze or wider-ranging price controls."

The key objective now, he says, is simply to soften the impact of inflation on those who can least afford higher prices.

"In any case, we cannot hope to get our inflation rate below that of our major partners. The rate for OECD countries is now above 10% and that in the US higher."

A major concern of business, expressed at the recent Economic Advisory Council meeting, is the erosion of capital that inflation is causing.

Dr Henne Reyniers, FCI chief until his appointment this week as head of the Manpower Commission, has led a powerful lobby for tax relief for companies to offset this.

Against this background, the key notes of the inflation policy seem relatively simple.

- Keep the growth in the money supply modest -- certainly below 10%.

- Get food prices down by dismantling the huge expense of too many control boards and inefficient small farming units.

- Launch a campaign to tie wage increases to productivity increases.

- Grant as much tax relief as possible to both companies and consumers.

- Smooth out increases in administered prices (in fact, price-controlled products like coal have fared better than the average of non-controlled products, according to new figures presented to the EAC).

- Increase investment incentives and measures to take up slack business capacity.

CS0: 4420

AFRICAN BANK LACKS BLACK SUPPORT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 23 Sep 79 p 28

[Article by Penelope Morgan]

[Text]

HIGHLY disappointing support from blacks has prevented The African Bank, launched with much fanfare in 1975, from coming anywhere near the targets originally hoped for.

The expected wave of nationalistic support expected from Africans failed to materialise, according to general manager Allan Wentzel.

He says that if Afbank could capture just a small percentage of the estimated R900-million to R1000-million total private black savings with white institutions, the bank's profits would leap.

Currently only about 25% of the deposits with The African Bank come from black individuals and only 15% to 20% from the black business community.

While 75% of the bank's loans are to black businessmen and 25% to private individuals, deposits attributable to non-Africans account for 25% of deposits.

Of the bank's initial capital of R12-million, only R900 000 came from the black community.

This absence of support from Africans is in stark contrast to the early days of Volkskas Bank, which owed a fair amount of its success to the Afrikaans people's strong feelings of nationalism at the time.

Mr Wentzel feels that the failure of Africans to identify with Afbank, is the fundamental reason for the bank's uninspired performance since its inception in 1975.

He is reasonably bullish about forecasts for the future of the bank and predicts "fairly good" results for the second six months of this year. For the first time, the bank showed an interim profit of R10 000 in April this year.

But he stresses that Afbank is looking to the black community and not the white institutions to generate profits. He believes in running the bank on strictly business lines.

He says: "I will not go begging to the white sector for favours for Afbank. We have started to show profits and will continue to do so. It will be a couple of years before we can pay dividends

because we have to recover our assessed losses, which stand at R250 000.

"In the present economic climate it is tough for us. But we have made it through the last few years and we will now continue to show profits."

He points out that it will be to Afbank's advantage when the prevailing liquidity in the economy gets mopped up and interest rates rise.

He suspects that the big banks will be less accommodating to blacks under those conditions and that blacks will, of necessity, then come to Afbank.

He also points to the continued growth of a young black middle class which, he believes, is more prepared to identify with an African bank.

At present large numbers of those who should be part of this group are unemployed.

Mr Wentzel claims that a fair proportion of the hire purchase business that comes to African Bank has already been rejected by the white sector. Because the bank is classified black in terms of the 1936 Land Act it can accept black securities, like certain bonds, which white banking institutions have more difficulty in accepting.

However, being classified black poses considerable problems in terms of the Group Areas Act.

Because Afbank is tied to a one to one ratio of rural (homeland) to urban by its license, it has only four branches.

If the bank is to expand, he admits it will have to broaden its base by increasing its equity.

Other factors that have mitigated against the success of the bank are the conservatism of the black community -- they tend to favour the big banks which they see as more stable.

According to Mr Wentzel it seems Africans want the same service and expertise

whites receive. For this reason, and contrary to expectations, Afbank's predominantly African staff has had its drawbacks.

Afbank has a staff of 55, four of whom are white. Two of these have been seconded from white banks.

Initially there were problems with staff because the newly-trained African bank clerks who were with the white banks were loath to come across to Afbank. This meant some momentum was lost while training clerks.

Although the "big five" banks hold 34% of Afbank equity, it is a potential competitor, especially for Barclays and Standard, so there is an absence of "big brother" protectiveness as in the case of The Bank of Transkei, which is half-owned by Volkskas.

BUS FARE ISSUE PART OF GENERAL ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 1 Oct 79 p 8

[Editorial: "Ladysmith Shows the Needed Change"]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA has again experienced one of these epics of endurance and perseverance which arise from time to time: on this occasion the scene has been the Ladysmith area, with people walking up to 40 km a day, to and from work, in protest against higher bus fares. They have won: the fares have been reduced while some employers, responding late, have also given pay rises.

Noteworthy in the protest, now hopefully ended, has been the mediating role played by a local Nationalist MP, Mr Tino Volker. His approach — in urging that the solution lay in negotiation and consultation, and not speaking over one another but with each other — was refreshingly different from the rough talk and action that is only too often the response to black worker protest.

There is a lesson in this alone. But going even further, the reports of the wage levels in the area must be cause for concern. According to Mr Elliot Mngadi, chairman of the Ezakheni Town Council many firms were paying between R12 and R19 a week, with one firm paying 400 women R8 a week.

No wonder, when fares went up on September 10 by 75c to 95c a week, that the proverbial camel's back was broken. People simply could not afford to pay.

Yet KwaZulu Transport, the bus owners, obviously had to increase fares to meet rising costs. And what will the company do now that it has had to revert to the previous lower fares?

This is where another important factor enters, as described by Mr S Sithebe, a member of the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly: "My people are at Ezakheni not because they like it there," he said last week. "Some had properties and title deeds for land in other areas such as Roosboom but the owners were dumped in Ezakheni." He said that if the Government had moved the people to Ezakheni and had moved factories there then "we wouldn't be in this position today."

So what we have is the familiar South African web of acute economic and social problems created by the infliction of Nationalist political ideology.

Even if the Ladysmith boycott has ended, the issue remains alive because similar bus fare increases are to follow throughout Natal. And, of course, the basic apartheid factors remain, as potent as ever. In the Prime Minister's desire for change, he would do well to look carefully at Ladysmith and what it means.

CSO: 4420

GOLD MINING INDUSTRY SEEKS TAX REDUCTION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 30 Sep 79 pp 1, 28

[Article by Andrew McNulty and Penelope Morgan]

[Text]

AT LEAST R2 000-million a year will be lost to the country if the gold price continues to move above \$350 an ounce and Government fails to reform the tax system which siphons revenue from South Africa's gold mines.

This has fuelled an increasingly forceful debate between Pretoria and the gold mining industry.

As a result, the industry will be submitting new proposals to the Minister of Finance, Owen Horwood, "within weeks."

The industry's argument, which applies even at much more conservative gold prices, becomes increasingly relevant as the price rises.

As the bullion price has continued to climb, it has pumped huge sums in extra revenue from gold sales through the mining industry into State coffers in the form of tax and related payments.

With the State already awash with high rake-offs from the gold mines, the industry's case for tax relief — which would greatly help the financing of new mines — is beginning to look irresistible.

The mines are paying the State some 60% of their earnings, which are currently running at some R7 300-million a year.

If the mines paid much the same to the State as other companies — that is, about 45% of the earnings — they would have about R1 300-million extra each year to invest in new mines, to meet rising costs and to pay higher wages to blacks.

If much of this money was reinvested in the industry it

could mean the launching of at least three large new mines a year, at a cost of some R300-million each over several years.

Assuming there was enough gold mineable at an acceptable price to justify five such mines, these could realistically earn as much as R3 000-million (at a gold price around \$350 an ounce) over five to 10 years, once fully operational.

The State's share would be as much as R1 350-million from these mines alone.

In the long run, the State's share from the whole gold mining industry could be comfortably higher than if the new mines were not launched and existing mines continued to pay 60% or more of their earnings to the Government.

The gold mining industry is not asking for a 20% drop — from 60% to 40% — in what it pays to the State. But it is arguing strongly for something reasonable in-between.

The industry says the existing, highly complex tax structure is discriminatory and inhibits new mining development.

This is highly wasteful.

Not only are missions being lost in taxes. The country's vital gold mining potential cannot be exploited to the full.

The president of the Chamber of Mines, Dennis Etheredge, says: "We got a tiny concession this year when we had 2.5% lopped off our loan levy."

"Over the past few years there has arisen a willingness at least to look at the tax structure. The door has opened a little wider. But that's as far as it has gone."

Robin Plumbridge, deputy chairman of Gold Fields of South Africa, which operates some of the country's richest gold mines, including East Driefontein and West Driefontein, says: "A very major proportion of the benefits flowing from the present high gold price is going to the Government and the industry is very concerned about this."

"It is very difficult to see why the gold mines should be singled out from other mines or other companies and have to pay such disproportionate amounts to the State."

In addition to gold mines, he notes, the potential for all types of new mining operations could be greatly enhanced if the so-called capital allowance was extended.

The Chamber of Mines, which has lobbied for years for improvements in the tax structure, is currently preparing a new negotiating package.

In the past four years the industry has invested some R1 000-million in new uranium mines and plants.

If the gold mines can be encouraged to further extend the life of marginal mines that are now viable because of the gold price, they could earn much more foreign exchange and stimulate the economy.

While the system is, in principle, enlightened compared with that in many countries, the industry believes some aspects create an unfavourable investment climate. Top mining men believe:

- The average tax rate is too high —

- The capital allowance — which ensures that a new gold mine will not pay tax until its capital expenditure is recovered from profits together with

a 10% compound interest on such capital — is not adequate to encourage new ventures and does not apply to all mines.

Gold mines pay tax according to formulae which mean that the rate increases as a mine's profitability increases.

This is intended to lighten the tax burden for less profitable mines, thus lengthening their working lives.

But the net result is an average tax rate for all gold mines which is far higher than the rate applied to any other company.

Dr Danie Krige, consulting financial engineer at Anglovaal, calculates that during the first six months of this year gold mines paid tax of R470-million and a further R120-million in lease payments on income of about R940-million.

Taking into account those receiving State aid or benefitting from capital allowance deductions, the average rate inclusive of tax and lease was 57%.

This compares with the normal company tax — which is also paid by all non-gold mining companies — of 40% plus a 2% surcharge and 4% loan levy.

Tax was paid during this period on profits earned on an average gold price of \$250.

Dr Krige estimates that on the same output and an average price of \$300 for the second half of the year, a plausible assumption at present, then total revenue subject to State payments will increase by R919-million.

But of this additional amount the State will take nearly R600-million or 65% in combined lease and tax payments, and the total payment to the State would be about R1 650-million, comprising R1 400-million in tax and R250-million in lease payments.

This high average rate results from the high rate of incremental tax. For example, the incremental rate (including surcharge, loan levy and the State's share) is currently 72.2% for Doornfontein, 70.8% for West Driefontein and 67.8% for East Driefontein.

According to a Business Times estimate, five medium-size, medium-grade new ventures could a pay a conservative R800-million in taxes over the first 10 years that the mines pay tax.

This is based on the 1979 tax payments by Doornfontein, a mine whose grade is about average at 8.37 g/t and with working costs just above average at R33.57/t. Doornfontein's net taxable profit for the year ending June 30 was R32.7-million.

The capital allowance applies at 10% only to post-1973 mines. Post-1968 mines get 6% and older mines get nothing at all — yet many of the older mines are the ones which are having to sink new shafts and undertake major capital expenditure in order to attain their potential.

The recent increases in the gold price mean a lot of extra revenue, not budgeted for in March, flowed into the State coffers in August.

For every additional rand that the gold price rises the State takes 65%.

Total tax from gold mines paid to the state for the first six months of this year, based on an average gold price of \$250, amounted to R470-million.

Economists estimate that the gold mines poured a total of R485-million into the state coffers three weeks ago at August end.

In August 1977 total gold mines tax stood at R190-million, but in those days the gold price was in the region of \$147 an ounce.

At the same time last year the gold mines paid up a total of R305-million while the gold price was hovering around \$204 an ounce.

Comments, Mr Krige: "The average rate of gold mines tax is out of proportion to the Government's final target, is to achieve a high economic growth rate."

BRIEFS

RESEARCH PROJECT WITH ISRAEL--The University of Pretoria is to embark on a scientific research programme in cooperation with the Ben Gurion University in Israel. The comprehensive programme, the first of its kind to be tackled between the two universities, will concentrate on fields of mutual interest which could be of benefit to both countries. The project is expected to cover about three years at a cost of R48 000 and specific fields to be tackled include desert research, veterinary study and the use and efficiency of solar energy. Speaking at a Press conference at the University of Pretoria last night, the principal, Professor E Hamman, described the project as a "very exciting venture." [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Sep 79 p 6]

WEST GERMAN TRADE UNION--West Germany's biggest trade union yesterday urged the Government to put strong pressure on German firms operating in South Africa to stop practicing racial discrimination. In a report on apartheid the Metalworkers' Union said German engineering firms with South African subsidiaries were dragging their feet over discrimination. The union leader, Mr Eugen Loderer, demanded that the firms recognize Black trade unions in all negotiations, end all racial discrimination and improve training facilities for Blacks. "Although the South African Government has dropped some discriminatory workplace legislation, sister firms of West German companies there are making only more or less sluggish efforts to overcome racial discrimination," the union report stated. The report criticized five major West Germany firms which, it said, had refused to disclose details of their behaviour in South Africa. It named the firms as Daimler-Benz, Magirus-Deutz, Olympia-Werke, Demag and AEG. But Mr Loderer ruled out any call for an economic boycott of South Africa, saying that such a move would be senseless and irresponsible. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Oct 79 p 5]

APPEAL TO PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY--A leading Portuguese journalist and political expert, Vera Lagoa, has appealed to the Portuguese community in South Africa not to send money to Portugal as this was only being used to further the cause of communism. Miss Lagoa, who has been described as the "Golda Meir of Portugal" addressed local businessmen and women in a city hotel and appealed to them to vote against the present government in Portugal in the forthcoming election in that country. "I believe we must take a stand in favor of South Africa because it is the only anti-communist country on this continent. Our country is anti-South African just like it is anti-Israel." Miss Lagoa is editor of an independent weekly newspaper, O Diabo, and her newspaper offices have been bombed several times because of her anti-communist stance. She accused the socialists and communists in Portugal of having bought up all the newsprint in the country in order to prevent other parties from publicizing their election campaign. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Oct 79 p 7]

BRITISH LABOR SUPPORT ANC--The ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, received a standing ovation from the hundreds of delegates to the Labor Party conference he addressed here. His selection to speak to the conference yesterday on behalf of its foreign guests marked a significant upgrading of the party's relationship with the ANC. The organization, banned by the South African Government, was singled out--to the exclusion of the other South African black nationalist organization, the Pan Africanist Congress--as one of the three southern African "liberation movements" supported by the party. The Patriotic Front and Swapo are the others. Conference adopted a statement by the party's National Executive Committee urging the British Government to "seek mandatory UN sanctions against South Africa." It condemned the execution of political prisoners and the "persistent denial of human rights to the African majority within South Africa." NEC member, Miss Joan Lestor, told delegates that "economic sanctions are the only alternative to a large-scale war in South Africa." [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Oct 79 p 2]

APPLICATIONS FOR INTER-RACIAL RESTAURANTS--It would take "some time" before the Department of Community Development had approved any applications for restaurants to be opened to all races, a spokesman for the Department said yesterday. "When we have received all the applications, each application will be considered on its merits," he said. The Department's regional offices would provide application forms and receive applications. From there the applications would be sent to the Department's head office for consideration. The information required included the location and size of the restaurant, the nature of its service and clientele, whether the restaurant had a liquor license and why it should receive an exemption. In cases where there was any doubt, the proprietors of eating facilities could apply for open facilities and their applications would be considered on merit. [Text] [Johannesburg POST in English 28 Sep 79 p 8]

YOUTH POLITICAL ROLE--Two prominent Transvaal Nats, Mr Danie Steyn (MP Wonderboom) and Mr Giel Reyneke (MPC), said after yesterday's Parliamentary and provincial by-elections that the Transvaal NP should revive its youth organization. Mr Steyn said one of the problems of the weak Nat performance in recent by-elections was that young voters no longer knew what was going on in the NP. He said the Nasionale Jeugbond had died in Transvaal. He said older supporters didn't want to be shunted around by young supporters in party organizations and for that reason the younger ones were staying away from rallies. "We must give our youth the opportunity to organize and to take part in canvassing and other party matters," Mr Steyn stressed. Mr Reyneke said yesterday's by-elections were ear-marked by a strong measure of "uncertainty amongst NP supporters." He said to his astonishment a considerable number of youthful voters had told him they supported the party, but knew absolutely nothing about its policies. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Oct 79 p 2]

WOMEN'S PETITION ON TAXES--Women yesterday petitioned Finance Minister Senator Owen Horwood and his deputy for a new tax deal for women and to appoint female representatives to the Standing Commission on fiscal and taxation policy. Members of "Action 75 Aksie," which claims to have nearly 400 000 married non-Black supporters, personally handed the petition to Deputy Finance Minister Mr P T C du Plessis at his Pretoria office. The group want answers to their petition, which points out that no women are represented on the Finance Committee for the National Party Caucus which effects fiscal and tax policy changes. Accepting the appointment to the Standing Committee of Professional Women, Professor Sandra van der Merwe, Mrs Adele van der Spuy and Mrs Christiane Duval would ensure that "fair and equitable arbitration" would take place. All non-Black South African women taxpayers who marry are involuntarily and automatically deprived of their tax status whether they marry in or out of community of property, the petition states. It adds that this automatic deprivation disadvantages married women against other sectors in a legal, economic and political sense. This is a priority matter fundamentally affecting all women taxpayers who should be entitled to marry without being automatically deprived of their tax status. At least 46 countries "in the developed and civilized international community of nations" do not do this to their married women. The tax status of more than 1 000 000 non-Black women is involved in South Africa, it claims. "Action 75 Aksie" want a written reply to their requests. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Oct 79 p 3]

INKATHA OFFICIALS SHOOTING INCIDENT--Senior police officers yesterday ruled out any political implications in the shooting of a top Inkatha official, Mr George Phala Gumede (53) in the Malagazi township, on the Natal South Coast, at the weekend. A massive police hunt was underway yesterday for the Black man who killed Mr Gumede and wounded another Inkatha official, Mr Talent Hlope. Mr Hlope is in the King Edward VIII Hospital with a bullet wound in his head. His condition is said to be critical. According to a senior police officer, the two men were in Inkatha group of 15 men investigating the squatter problem at the township. A few Blacks had been searched by the Inkatha party when Mr Gumede and Mr Hlope, who were both employed by the KwaZulu Government, approached another squatter. When they told the man they were going to search him, he pulled out a pistol and fired several shots at close range. Mr Gumede was hit several times and died almost instantly. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Oct 79 p 5]

TRANSKEI CHIEF AWAITING TRIAL--After spending 29 days in security police detention, a former Transkei cabinet minister and tribal head of the Maluti-based Basotho, Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, has been released on bail of R500. Chief Moshesh, who has now joined the official Opposition Party, is awaiting trial on a charge under Transkei Public Security Act for allegedly subverting or interfering with the authority of the State. The charge carries a maximum sentence of three years' imprisonment. On his release from detention, Chief Moshesh made a formal appearance in the Mount Frere Magistrate's Court where he was remanded to November 22. This was two weeks after the start of another security trial against the Opposition party leader, King Sabata Dalindyebo of the Tembus. Another Opposition party member, Mr Babini Pikahe of Engcobo, made a fourth appearance in the Umtata Magistrate's Court this week charged under the Transkei Constitution Act for allegedly undermining the dignity of the State President, Paramount Chief K D Matanzima. The case was postponed to November 1 at the request of his defense attorney, Mr Griffiths Mxenge of Durban. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg POST in English 3 Oct 79 p 8]

BUTHELEZI ON MILITARY SERVICE--It was a matter of great pride for every citizen of a country to stake his life in defense of that country, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said here at the weekend. Opening the new hospital complex at Manguzi, he said that because of discrimination in the South African society, Blacks felt that they were not prepared to risk their lives in defense of apartheid. It was a matter of "great agony" to him and Inkatha to know that people who were regarded as enemies of South Africa were their brothers and sisters. "Because the government banned those liberation movements that operated in this country, they found that they have no choice but to leave the country and go into the armed struggle." Chief Buthelezi said the situation was critical, but neither side was right in relying on weapons. They should try to solve their problems around the conference table. The Chief Minister paid tribute to the South African Defense Force for having made medical doctors available to KwaZulu hospitals. "We just cannot imagine how we could have operated if they were not available to our hospitals," he said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Oct 79 p 7]

BUTHELEZI CRITICISM OF STUDENTS--The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, lashed out in Durban yesterday at white students who organized a demonstration at the University of Cape Town yesterday. Chief Buthelezi also alleged that newspapers had exaggerated the demonstration by portraying it as a clash between a large number of students and the Inkatha movement. The students disrupted the ceremonial procession at the university's 150th anniversary honorary graduation ceremony, at which Chief Buthelezi and other leading South Africans were granted honorary degrees in law. "The demonstrators were counted by Inkatha's secretary-general and there were only 50--not 2 000 as claimed," Chief Buthelezi said. "But I wonder whether these irresponsible students are aware of the fact that they are pushing blacks towards violence by always portraying us as part of the system and the captives of white liberals? "By contrasting me with a fellow leader like Nelson Mandela they are creating tensions within black society and make themselves guilty of the old white ploy of divide and rule. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Oct 79 p 3]

NUSAS OFFICER ARREST--The publications officer of the National Union of South African students, Mr Paul Gardiner, was arrested by two security policemen in the organization's Rondebosch head office yesterday afternoon. Detailed information could not be obtained, but it is believed the arrest was in connection with banned publications. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 2 Oct 79 p 11]

NUSAS PUBLICATION BAN OVERRULED--The Publications Control Board has lost an appeal to the Publications Appeal Board to have a Nusas publication declared undesirable. After a complaint had been lodged against the publication, South African Law and the Conscientious Objector by Andy Smail, it was submitted to one of the committees of the Publications Control Board for scrutiny. They declared it was not undesirable but the Publications Control Board, unhappy with this decision, appealed to the Publications Appeal Board to have the book banned. The appeal failed. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Oct 79 p 3]

BLACK TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENTS--Massive improvements to black commuter services in the main metropolitan areas costing more than R300-million, are underway or being planned, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Transport, said in Pretoria yesterday. He was replying to a debate at the National Party's Transvaal congress where delegates had questioned him about improving the transport system. Mr Heunis said large-scale improvements were already being carried out and more were planned in Durban, Cape Town and the Pretoria/Johannesburg areas. Improvements in the Durban area alone would cost about R157-million and another R73-million was to be spent on "essential" improvements in the Cape Town area. Large-scale expansion was also planned in the Johannesburg area and more specifically on the Soweto line. Large-scale expansion and lengthening of platforms in the Johannesburg area had already made it possible to increase the number of coaches on trains from 12 to 14 on the Soweto line. Mr Heunis said South Africa would also have to consider introducing an overall transport policy in the light of latest events. "We must look at the whole transport system in light of the energy crisis and the constitutional developments about us. "It is no good having ideals without the money to carry them out," he said referring to the establishment of black townships which had moved many workers far from their jobs," he said. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 20 Sep 79 p 1]

RHODESIAN DOMESTIC WORKERS--Only two or three Black men from Zimbabwe Rhodesia have been recruited as domestic workers in the Transvaal since the Department of Cooperation and Development announcement a month ago that indigenous Black men preferred "more appealing" employment. Labor leaders became perturbed when the Deputy Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr G de V Morrison, said up to 100 Black Zimbabwe Rhodesian workers were needed each month for domestic and agricultural work in the Transvaal. A spokesman for the West Rand Administration Board said there had been very little reaction so far and only "two or three" migrants had been recruited. Labor leaders said the move was incomprehensible against the background of South Africa's massive and worsening Black unemployment.

problem. Even the mines were working with their underground and surface labor requirements at full strength. Dr Morrison said local Black men had "withdrawn" from the domestic and agricultural labor field and preferred other work. "One of the snags is that a local employer cannot select his man; this has to be left with the Zimbabwe Rhodesian authorities. Employers, naturally, want to know what they are paying for," the spokesman said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Oct 79 p 9]

BLACK RHODESIAN MINeworkERS--The number of Zimbabwe-Rhodesian miners working on South African gold mines had dropped slightly in recent months to about 8 400, a spokesman for the recruiting organization, Wenela, said. "This is because the mines have got enough labor and are able to meet their demands," he said. Only Zimbabwe-Rhodesian miners who had worked on South African gold mines before could now be recruited. When Wenela started recruiting in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia about four years ago, there had been such a shortage of labor on the mines that this restriction did not apply. Last year recruits from Zimbabwe-Rhodesia had earned more than R10-million on South African mines. Although earnings this year would not be quite as high, there would not be a significant drop either. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 21 Sep 79 p 4]

JAPANESE LOCOMOTIVES--The first two of a R37-million order for 50 Japanese manufactured locomotives arrive in Durban this week for SA Railways. The electric locomotives are to be used in a drive to increase the amount of coal exported through Richard's Bay every year to 40-million tonnes by 1985. The rest of the locomotives will be delivered in stages, for assembly in South Africa, with the delivery completed by the end of next year. A spokesman for the Railways said today: "The engines cost R750 000 each and have been ordered through Nissho-Iwai of Tokyo. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 25 Sep 79 p 4]

FUEL FROM REFUSE PROPOSAL--An ambitious R29,5-million project to manufacture an alternative fuel, ethanol, from refuse gathered in the main city centres has been formulated by a South African company. Hessa Africa (Pty) Ltd has already approached the Government and 60 municipalities, including Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Cape Town and Pretoria, for reaction to their scheme. The company claims that the scheme, besides solving "acute" refuse and fuel problems, will create jobs for 2 720 unskilled workers. Managing director Mr J A Venter has outlined the project in a memorandum sent to the Minister of Trade and Consumer Affairs, Dr Schalk van der Merwe. The memorandum has been forwarded to the Minister of Energy, Mr F W de Klerk, who will give it attention at the "earliest possible moment," a spokesman for his department said yesterday. The company estimates that neighboring farms producing additional raw material for the ethanol plants in the form of cassava could employ as many as 18 000 workers. Heavy Africa maintains it could process 2 533 tons of refuse daily, producing 253 300 l of ethanol, worth R50 660 at 20c a litre. It would produce other by-products, such as animal feeds. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 20 Sep 79 p 6]

FOREIGN ASSETS STATUS--South Africa's total gold and foreign assets increased again last month and stood at R3 410,7-million at the end of September. According to the Reserve Bank, the gold holding alone increased by R450,1-million in the month to stand at R2 741,2-million. A statement from the Reserve Bank shows South Africa's gold reserves were valued at R285,20 in September, a valuation R47,23 higher than in the previous month. It is clear the bulk of the improvement in the country's asset position (R722,9-million during the month of September) can be attributed to the higher gold price. The reserve Bank reports bills rose R13,2-million to stand at R47,2-million, investments increased R3,9-million to R33,8-million while other assets rose R255,7-million to R588,5-million. But of the R722,9-million increase, R450-million arose out of higher gold reserves. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Oct 79 p 18]

CSO: 4420

FLOUR DISTRIBUTION SCANDAL, CAUSES DISCUSSED

Lubumbashi MJUMBE: LE QUOTIDIEN DU SHABA in French 28-29 Jul 79 pp 7-8

[Article by Muyumba Kiyombo: "The Mafia Is Getting a Big Part of the Wheat Flour Market"]

[Text] Certain events which we are living through testify eloquently to the constantly growing importance of bread in the diet of Zairians. We cite by way of example the fact that every time a bakery puts its products on the market, women retailers and other potential consumers descend upon it.

Even more, whenever wheat flour arrives at any agent's depot, hundreds of persons wait in lines to get some. What makes the supply of flour always chancy is the fact that in addition to the established bakers in Lubumbashi, an impressive number of women need wheat flour for making beignets.

Since the number of bakers and women beignet-sellers has increased beyond all proportion, very few or none of them have a regular supply of wheat flour. The result of this situation is several facts that deserve to be noted here.

In fact, it is readily observed that the volume of bread and beignets has decreased considerably. On the other hand, the price has gone up for that which is still available in volume. Consequently, the buying power of Zairian whose resources have already been eroded as a result of the economic crisis in which the world has found itself for more than 5 years is suffering further reverses.

The evil is there. Since every problem has a specific essence, we believe that those engendered by bread have theirs too. This postulate has rightly led us to carry out investigations in this field. What, it will be asked, are the results of our inquiries?

The conclusion of our research is that the rise in the price of bread is closely connected with the price structure of wheat flour, on the one hand, and on the other, the relatively high cost of the other production factors. Let us leave aside the latter assertion and concentrate on the former.

Price Structure of Wheat Flour

The wheat flour trade in Lubumbashi is characterized mainly by shamefully incongruous middlemen. In the course of our inquiries, we were able to obtain a very long list of the bakers who are supposed to get their flour supplies from agents' depots.

Just for the Lubumbashi subregion, the list presented to us includes more than 100 "bakers." This is what causes serious mob scenes outside SEDEC [expansion unknown], "Mama Poto" and SAB [expansion unknown] whenever they obtain the flour we are talking about here.

Three questions deserve to be raised. Does each person on this list have a bakery? Are the three sales agents performing their task properly? Finally, is this sales system really effective?

Too Many False Bakers and Pastry-Makers

At the outset we discovered that in more than one way, the list of bakers and pastry-makers drawn up by the subregional economic affairs office includes fictitious persons who do not even have an oven, still less make beignets. Consequently, many persons buy wheat flour to the detriment of the real bakers and pastry-makers.

Within this framework, responsibility falls on the subregional economic affairs office, which in all probability has not confirmed the existence of a bakery or pastry-maker's before putting the tradesperson's name on the list of buyers. And yet this is the only check that could help the abovementioned public service to purge its list and eventually determine the allowance of sacks of wheat flour for each applicant. To go against this elementary principle amounts to nothing less than demonstrating injurious complicity.

And the Sales Agents

The wheat flour sales agents of Lubumbashi--"Mama Poto," SEDEC and SAB--are no less responsible for the price rise.

In fact, at the level of wheat-flour sales, we have noted a kind of discrimination. How else could it be explained that a gendarmerie officer--to take one example out of many--manages to get a supply from a sales agent even though he is neither a baker (still less a small baker) nor a pastry-maker? This surpasses all understanding. During this time, the true makers of bread are categorically refused service. Or when he is given some, it is 5 sacks out of the 100 requested. In this framework, only one explanation is possible: the sales agent gets big profit from sales to the fictitious bakers, who resell a sack for 100 Z, whereas the official price is 65 Z.

A curious thing: these fictitious bakers do not sell the actual sacks of wheat flour, but rather the invoice of the supplier, who is the sales agent. Another

curious thing: the sales agent closes his eyes to the fact that he settles with person X an invoice that he has issued to person Y. Isn't this enough to conclude that the sales agent is in complicity?

A complicity further stimulated by the gain which a sack of wheat flour brings on the black market.

In brief, the sales agents prefer friends and brothers to real bakers. It is a matter of helping the former even if the consumers have to bear the cost. For a baker who buys a sack of wheat flour at a price jacked up 50 percent has to increase his own price proportionately so as to preserve his profit margin. This observation brings us straight to the third question--the effectiveness of the present system of selling wheat flour.

Ineffective System

The present system, analyzed from all possible angles, is ineffective. First of all, it is through it that the discriminatory spiral has developed. Secondly, even if one supplies only the bakers and pastry-makers listed by the subregional economic affairs office, one does not know how to distinguish the real ones from the false ones. Finally, this system contributes to the rise in the price of the finished product.

For the good reason that there is a useless potential middleman--the sales agent--between the flour mills of Matadi--the supplier--and the bakers. In addition to the sales agents, there are many other free-lance middlemen--that is, private parties who, when the opportunity arises, turn into semi-sales agents, whereas they are actually only commission sellers. That, at least, is the impression we get.

What is to be done to put an end to this situation? To answer this question, we asked for the wisdom of citizen Mungomba Ngoy, chairman of the regional bakers and pastry-makers' committee.

"The Solution to Your Problem Lies in Revision of the Distribution System"

Two weeks ago, the bakers and pastry-makers of Lubumbashi formed a corporation in order better to defend their interests. At their second meeting, the bread-makers elected their regional committee, headed by citizen Mungomba Ngoy.

The problem which we raise in these columns had been the subject of discussions during one of their previous meetings. The opinions expressed on this occasion agree, happily, with the conclusions of our inquiry. Since the solution had been outlined, we yield the floor to citizen Mungomba Ngoy so that he can can talk to us about it:

"Yesterday, Mr Stanzos and I, to cite only two examples, had an allowance of wheat flour at MIDEMA (Flour Mills of Matadi). We did all we could to rationalize the distribution of wheat flour among those who need it and to produce

more bread so as to keep the price at a reasonable level--all the more so in that there was no middleman.

"Today, our respective allowances have been eliminated to the advantage of 'Mama Poto,' SEDEC and SAB--three warehouses whose trade names have nothing to do with the making of bread. In a word, elements that are superfluous but have an undeniable effect on the cost price--first, at the level of the bakers, and then at the consumer level--have been added to the circuit.

"Curiously, our requests to get our allowances from MIDEMA restored have met with failure. And this despite the intervention of the state commissioner for economy and industry. These failures lead us to believe that MIDEMA has deliberately put into the circuit sales agents who are not bakers.

"In view of all the preceding, we have resolved to carry on the struggle in two phases. In the first phase, we will act for an investigation to be made to weed out the false bakers from the list of the economic affairs office. Thus, the fictitious bakers and pastry-makers will be removed from the picture. In parallel with this, on the basis of the size of each bakery and pastry-maker's, we will ask that an allowance be set for each of them. Thus, a small baker will no longer be given more sacks than he needs, with the risk of his selling the surplus on the black market.

"In the second phase, we will ask the responsible authorities that sales agents be chosen from among the serious bakers and pastry-makers of Lubumbashi, such as Messrs Stanzos, Costa, Atlas, Mungomba, etc. In this way, wheat flour will be supplied at a relatively good price. And consequently, the price of bread will come down."

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